#1

IS THERE A

What Is the American Way?

1.

Not all Americans agree on what strategy of war and peace - foreign policy - our country ought to follow. Yet the present is a time when it is important for our people to understand each other, and to work out the problems of our nation. Probably the time will never come when we all agree. Yet we have traditions and beliefs which all of us share -- and we all share in America's problems. Those who have children know the true cost of war -- whatever the shade of opinion of the parents. An atomic attack would wipe out neighbors of all points of view. Love of country, worry, and hope over its future are common to all. Since the nation belongs to its people, and since there are other nations the U.S. must deal with, all of us need to look into the problems of our dealings with the rest of the world's nations -- in the search for the best future for our own country and the planet which holds it. Since our future should be built upon our great past, let us start with a careful look at the American tradition and go on from there.

Landmarks of the American Way

What was the cause of the first great European migration to the United States? What led the first settlers to leave a land they knew for the unknown -- the new world of the English colonies?

Wars: The Thirty Years' War devastated Europe from 1618 to 1648, and France and Spain carried on until 1659. Eight major wars, one after the other, were fought in Europe between 1618 and 1776 -- wars which meant the burning and looting of villages, broken families, and death.

Religious Persecution: Protestants were persecuted in some countries, Catholics in others, and real freedom of worship did not exist.

Poverty: England had many unemployed. In some communities as many as one-third of the people were listed as paupers and were forced to live on charity. These were the facts of life in Europe.

What the American colonies offered was a break with the Europe of war, religious strife, poverty and unemployment -- and the hope of cheap or free land, and a chance to build a new life for themselves and their children.

BRITAIN AND FREEDOM FOR AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

The colonists taught themselves self-government and began to build American trade, manufacturing and farming with the immense natural resources of the new world. Lumber and flour were milled, shipbuilding and fishing prospered, and a rudimentary iron and steel industry emerged. More land to the west was cleared.

But England wanted to control the economic growth of the colonies. The New World was to be a supplier of raw materials to England, and then would buy back the finished products of English industry. Thus, the great bulk of profits would be England's. England also wanted the colonies to pay their own costs and also the costs of the English colonial administration and troops in the New World. But independent-minded colonists wanted profits for America. The British attempted to enforce their programs with such laws as these:

1763: A Royal Order by which the King claimed the lands of the West for the crown.
1764: Sugar Act, to pay for British government in the colonies, and to stop smuggling.
1764: Currency Act, forbidding the colonies to make the paper money they needed for trade.
1765: Stamp Act, taxing transactions and products.
1767: Revenue and Customs Acts, sending British commissioners to the colonies, with the right to search and seize, to collect customs and other taxes

Freedom to build American trade and enterprise was one great reason for the break with Britain. For that freedom, the new United States did not need to make laws, but only to get out from under British rule.

America's Great Document

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America's Great Document

AN AMERICAN V

What Kind of World Do We Want?

2. The U.S. alone cannot call the turn on what the world is to be like -- but our voice is very important in the world. We are more likely to get the kind of world we want if we are clear about our own wishes. Here are some of the goals we might choose. See if you and your friends can agree on the two best for the U.S. and the world. You may wish to add other choices in the blank spaces below.

Some Choices:

A world divided up by a deal between the U.S. and the USSR, with each supreme in its own share of the globe.

A Soviet-run world

A U.S.-run world

A world where military power rules and might is right.

A world of cooperation and friendship among all non-Soviet countries

A world at war

A true world peace

Any world condition -- it doesn't matter to the U.S.

_____

_____

Our Neighbors and the World We Want

Whatever the goal of our foreign policy -- whatever world we want -- we have neighbor-nations. Canada is on our North, Mexico and Latin America on our South. What do we want and need from these neighbors to make a safe, prosperous and free U.S.A. -- and the kind of world we want to live in? Think it out -- the headings below will help give clues on some possible needs and wants. Fill in the blank spaces.

What Does the U.S. Want from its Neighbors in Trade? (in what we buy and sell, markets, tariffs, etc.) _____

_____

What Does the U.S. Want from its Neighbors in World Politics? (at UN, in our dealings with the Soviets, etc.) _____

_____

What Does The U.S. Want from its Neighbors in Defense and Security? (the use of armed forces, treaties, etc.) _____

_____

What Does the U.S. Want from its Neighbors in Character? (dependability, other qualities) _____

_____

What Does the U.S. Want from its Neighbors in Understanding of our Way of Life?

_____

What Does the U.S. Want from its Neighbors in Other Fields You Can Think of?

_____

What the U.S. wants from Other World Areas: Look over the same list of headings just above and see how many of these same things we need or want from countries not as close as Canada and Mexico -- in Europe, in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa?

Do we need to trade? Do they count for our strategy and success or failure in world politics? -- in our defense and security policies? Do we need or want

America's Great Documents

The other things the colonists wanted, they spelled out in their great documents - Declaration of Independence, Constitution and Bill of Rights. In these the American way of life was spelled out further, and we can look in them for the keys to our forefathers' beliefs.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Here are the truths listed by the Second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776, when they declared this nation free:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident:

That all men are created equal;

That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;

That among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;

That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;

That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it ....."

CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS

The body of the Constitution sets up the machinery for the American way of government. Its preamble outlines briefly some basic purposes -- "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity ..." For these things, justice, peace within the country, safety from enemy attack, the welfare and freedom of the people then and later, they wrote the Constitution.

The Bill of Rights, adopted by the first Congress in 1789 as the first ten amendments to the Constitution, spelled out further the beliefs of the founding fathers. Here is what they stood for:

Amendment I: Freedom of religion, speech, the press, the right to assemble peaceably and to petition to have wrongs righted.

Amendment II: Because the country needed a militia, the right to bear arms.

Amendment III: Freedom from having to house soldiers in peacetime - and duty to house them in wartime only if laws are passed to require it.

Amendment IV: Right to be free from any unreasonable searches and seizures.

Amendment V: Right of protection of law for persons and their property.

Amendment VI: Rights of persons accused of crime - fair trial, witnesses, counsel.

Amendment VII: Right of trial by jury in law suits.

Amendment VIII: Protection against excessive bail and punishments.

Amendment IX: A reminder that this list of rights does not mean there are not others.

Amendment X: Reserving to the states or to the people, powers not given to the federal government by the Constitution.

America Today and Our Traditions

Looking carefully at our early history, Declaration of Independence, and Constitution, what kinds of words would you use to describe the U.S. as a nation and people (Christian, hard-boiled, warlike or peace-loving, freedom-loving, etc.)? List five qualities you think are most important in the American tradition:

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. _____ 5. _____

Would you sign the Declaration of Independence and Constitution today? Are there any things you would leave out? What, and why?

How many of the main elements of rights, freedoms and protection in our great historic tradition do you think governments such as the USSR give their people?

Do you think other peoples of the world -- in Asia, for instance -- ought to have the rights, freedoms and protection guaranteed Americans by our Constitution? Why?

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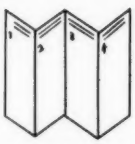

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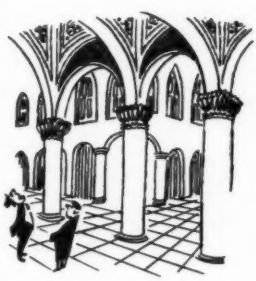
defense and security policies? Do we need or want them to be friendly, dependable, etc? Does it matter whether they understand our way of life, etc? What do the Soviets want from these world areas? Are we concerned if the Soviets get what they want?

How Do We Get What We Want from the World?

Gunboat diplomacy used to work a hundred years ago. The British, for example, could send a fleet into another country's port and say, "Go along with what Britain wants or be blown up!" Even then it didn't always work - Britain was tremendously more powerful than the thirteen colonies, and we defied her in 1776 and got away with it. In our own time, a weak Indonesia defeated the Dutch; a poor Iran threw out British oil owners and took over herself; a strong Nazi Germany never was able to become complete master of little Yugoslavia. Military leaders have agreed that it is either impossible or it costs a high price in lives to hold a country where the people are solidly and actively against you.

Let's take an imaginary country in the Middle East -- an important country in strategy, because it has oil both the U.S. and the Russians want. The U.S. can decide what it wishes to happen there, and set up a foreign policy intended to get that result. The U.S. could send money and arms to the government, could try to make the country friendly to the U.S., could try to make the people see that the Soviets are a danger. But -- could any outside foreign power run the situation? Does any foreign power completely control the press, the standard of living, internal politics; or does any foreign power create the genius of the country's strongest political leaders and put them on one side or the other? Can any country fully decide another country's fate except by defeating and ruling it by force of arms?

The U.S. decides what kind of world it wants, and sets up a foreign policy which is a strategy to help get that kind of world. Suppose it is a wise foreign policy, well-handled; does that mean it will succeed? How much should we expect our wishes and policies to count for? What else and who else counts?



Does history count? For example, certain districts in France and Italy have been "revolutionary" for fifty to a hundred years; should we expect the Marshall Plan to make strong "capitalists" out of those people? The German character has taken two thousand years to get to be what it is -- should we expect several years of U.S. occupation to change the German way of life? How about Japan? Are their national ideas, feelings and ways of life something a foreign power can easily change?

Does geography count? India has one border with Red China and one with the USSR; these are overwhelmingly the two strongest military nations in Asia. The Philippines are protected by being many ocean miles from Asia's mainland. Will their different geography make these countries' national strategy different? Why and how?

How about peoples' own feelings, desires, needs and opinions? What other things do you think count most in deciding what happens in a country? Write these things in below.

_____ _____

_____ _____

All in all, can the U.S. get the results it wishes in other countries just because the U.S. wants them?

Can the U.S. Influence What Happens? The U.S. has had some great successes in the last few years as well as some defeats. Let us look at one example in Western Europe. After World War II, in several European countries, there was great danger that the communists would get a majority vote because bad living conditions were making voters desperate; most people still wanted democracy very deeply and knew that if they had the goods to rebuild industry they could have a better life and save democracy.

They were willing to work hard - as production figures show. The U.S. sent Marshall Plan aid - the very thing these European countries crucially needed and wanted ... and it worked. The U.S. goal was to save democracy in West Europe. The U.S. policy was to do in Europe the one thing which could change the situation; what the U.S. did was based on the facts and realities in Europe - not just on U.S. wishes.

WAY IN FOREIGN

What Kind of Neighbor Shall We Be?

3. Since human beings are much alike, our own experience in our country will tell us a good deal about other peoples. We know that the rest of the world has less of many good things of life than we do. What do they want and need today? Look back at our own early history, the beliefs of the builders of American democracy. Most of all, think of the things you yourself want most for yourself and your family. Without being greedy or wanting too much, list below what you think the people of other countries want -- and how much -- enough to survive, or what?

Other peoples want these necessities:

Other peoples want these things in safety from lawlessness or enemy attack:

Other peoples want these things in health and medical care:

Other peoples want these things in schooling for their people:

Other peoples want these freedoms:

Other things you think they want:

Which of these things do you think people need and want most in Europe -- and which do they not get? In Asia? In Africa? In the Middle East? What does this tell you about the strongest desires of these peoples, and what they want most in the world? Will these wants have anything to do with the way they act in world politics? Would war, for example, look good or bad to them?

Their Choice of a World To Live in

If you were a Soviet citizen your choice would mean very little. In most other countries your voice would be listened to, but your country would not dream itself powerful enough to call the turn in the world. Even so, your feelings about the kind of world situation you wanted would be very strong -- maybe even stronger than American feelings because you would have more problems. Which of these do you think you would choose?

Some Choices:

A world divided up by a deal between the U.S. and the USSR, with each supreme in its own share of the globe.

A Soviet-run world

A U.S.-run world

A world where military power rules and might is right

A world of cooperation and friendship among all non-Soviet countries

A world at war

POLICY ?

Can You Help Make an American Foreign Policy?

4.

Do you believe that democracy -- rule by the people -- works in the United States? Do you believe that your opinions and choices count in national affairs? Do you believe they count in international affairs? If today's citizens are really making democracy work, is it true that the American people must take part in making the great decisions of foreign policy?

What Are the Basic Keys To Foreign Policy?

Since other nations have the arms to make war and can do other things which are almost as important to us, the U.S. must have a plan or strategy for its dealings with those nations. That strategy toward other nations is called a "Foreign Policy."

The first purpose of foreign policy is to get the best results and agreements possible for prosperity, freedom and the safety or security -- of our own country. This is national self-interest, and this is the basis for the foreign policy of every country. A nation may "horse trade" and agree to something against its self-interest, but only if it expects to get something in return sooner or later.

The Long-Run and the Short

However, what looks good for the nation's immediate interest may in fact be bad in the long-run. Winning a short-run victory can mean a long-run defeat. What happens to other countries -- not our own -- may be an important part of the long-run self-interest. Examples to discuss: would a terrible depression in Europe make any difference to the U.S. -- what are the short-run and long-run questions? If a war left the world so poor its peoples chose communism in despair -- would that make any difference to the U.S.? Do you think it might sometimes be important to the national interest to prevent war, poverty, epidemics, or economic disaster in countries other than our own? Is winning a war sure to mean a long-run victory?

Right and Wrong

Do we, as Americans, care about right and wrong in our foreign policy? Look back at the first column and think about our national tradition. The Nazis and the Russians violated treaties, promises and agreements, and used subversion and fifth columns; both have attacked small countries which had done nothing to provoke an attack.

Could the U.S. run a foreign policy along those lines, or are right and wrong important to us? Do our beliefs in rights and freedoms have anything to do with right and wrong in foreign policy? If we cannot use the same immoral weapons as the Soviets, this is important to remember.

Note: It is important to understand that our choices in foreign policy are not often between pure right and complete wrong -- rarely is any country absolutely right. Usually we have to match one set of rights and wrongs against another set -- and take the better.

Facts, Not Wishes

Those nations which ignored facts and made their great decisions on wishes are now in the scrap heap of history. For the U.S. to want or dislike a country or a trend does not make it strong or weak, right or wrong, good or bad. We need to ask not what we wish the facts to be -- but what the facts are, pleasant or unpleasant. And then we need to face those facts. Europeans know more about Europe, Asians more about Asia, than we can possibly know -- we can make serious mistakes if we try to "know it all" and do not listen to what others can tell us. To succeed, the U.S. must understand and know world public opinion.

Ways to Fool Ourselves

1. **Picking policies that won't fit together. Can we decide to be tough with the Russians -- and cut armaments?**

A true world peace

Any world condition -- it doesn't matter

Other Nations, the World They Want - And the U.S.

All other countries of the world believe the U.S. is important. They can make no great decisions on their strategy for the future without thinking about what the U.S. will do or may do. If they are to be safe, free and at least more prosperous -- they must think about the U.S. What do they want and need from the U.S.? The headings below will give clues; fill in the blank spaces.

What Do Other Countries Want From the U.S. in Trade?

What Do Other Countries Want From the U.S. in World Politics?

What Do Other Countries Want From the U.S. in Defense and Security?

What Do Other Countries Want From the U.S. in Character?

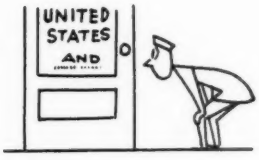
What Do Other Countries Want From the U.S. in Understanding of Their Way of Life?

What Do Other Countries Want From the U.S. in Other Fields You Can Think Of?

How much do you think other nations care whether the U.S. is sincere, friendly, dependable, understanding of their ways of life and problems, etc? How do you think they will judge us -- on what we say or what we do? What do you think this means about the kind of foreign policy we ought to have?

Now look above at the list of things you believe others want from the U.S. -- and look back at the list of things you believe the U.S. wants from others. Are they much alike or quite different?

Of the things they want, are we prepared to give only a few? many or most? all? or none? How many of the things we want do you think they will give? As a practical matter, do you think other nations will give the U.S. what we want unless we are ready to give them about the same amount of what they want from us? What choices do we have if we decide we want to get but not to give?



In almost any part of the world, U.S. policies can make some difference. In some countries there are things the U.S. could do which are so important that they might actually decide history.

Remembering the things that you decided above count in settling what will happen in a country, how do you think the U.S. can best get what it wants from its neighbors and the rest of the world? (By force -- by give and take -- by speeches about our wishes -- by telling other countries what to do -- or how? Is sending money or other aid always the answer?) What three things would you list as the most important things to remember -- if we want our policies to work?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

2. Deciding on a policy -- and then not doing what's necessary to make it work. Is it workable to say we want to cut foreign aid, have other countries earn their dollars by sales in the U.S., and then not open U.S. markets to some of their goods?

How Do You Use the Keys To Foreign Policy?

Do you think the average American citizen is intelligent enough to use these keys to decisions on foreign policy problems? Can you think of other keys to a wise national strategy?

Getting the facts.

To help you get a great many of the basic facts quickly and easily, the sheet you are reading and seven more like it have been published. These will not tell you answers, but they will give you the basic questions and the facts necessary for you to find an answer. In a democracy no one should be allowed to decide your opinions for you -- but yourself.

This series of eight sheets on the Basic Issues and Great Decisions behind U.S. Foreign Policy covers these subjects:

I. Is There An American Way in Foreign Policy?
II. Do U.S. Prosperity, Security and Freedom Depend on the Rest of the World?
III. How Shall We Deal With The USSR?
IV. Do We Need Strong and Global Defenses?
V. Do We Have a Stake in Europe?
VI. Do We Have a Stake in Asia?
VII. Do We Have a Stake in Colonial Africa?
VIII. Do We Need Partners and Friends?

Does Your Opinion Count?

THE U.S. MAKES MANY GREAT DECISIONS. SHALL THE UNITED STATES GO TO WAR? Shall the United States act to save a foreign country from communism -- which may take costly aid? Shall the United States cut its armed strength or build strong forces for security? Shall the U.S. work with Western Europe for joint defense and other common gains -- or withdraw? Here is what happens on such questions as these:

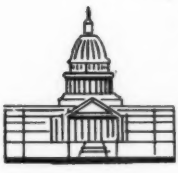
Experts suggest possible decisions, report these to policy-makers. Policy-makers check to see what Congress will support and enact. Congress checks to see whether the public at home has made up its minds.

➡

The public makes its decision -- wisely or unwisely. Democracy works. Congress says how it will vote. Policy-makers get the word. Experts work out the details.

(But anytime the public does not know or care and has no strong, clear opinion -- democracy does not and can not work. Others make that decision. Whose fault do you think this is? What do you think ought to be done about it? Being practical, what do you think you can do about it in your life and your town?

Your Community and Foreign Policy



How does your community influence what the U.S. does in the world and what the world thinks of the U.S.? Does it matter what happens in your town? Here are some questions which suggest where the answers may lie. The world judges the U.S. by what happens in America. Where is this America that counts? In Washington, D.C. or in your community -- and other communities just like it? Do your town's failures and successes in practicing democracy count in forming the world's picture of America?

From the local level on up to the national level, does the quality of our elected officials count -- in making the United States a real example of democracy at its best -- in getting decisions made which are good and wise for America and the world? Does how much your community knows and thinks have anything to do with quality of our elected -- and even appointed -- officials? Who could get facts, questions and ideas before your community? Who should? Where do you fit into the job of making a foreign policy which will keep our nation free, strong and prosperous.

DOES U. S.

1. Examine the Facts

This is a time when Americans can little afford to make bad guesses on the great choices for national survival. Many of us have come to accept the statement that the U.S. cannot live in isolation - yet debate is reopened, and we find we are not really sure. It would be good citizenship of a time-honored kind, to examine the facts, talk it over with neighbors, and decide this question. This is important; almost all the other questions of foreign policy depend upon this one.

Probably all Americans would agree that three things we want for our country are freedom, prosperity, and security (safety from attack). Foreign policy is a strategy for dealings with other nations; would you agree that our foreign policy should be built on preserving our freedom, prosperity and security? How would you rate these three -- which is most important to you? Are there other things just as important, that our foreign policy should look out for or stand for?

We cannot overlook Soviet Russia - the USSR. For the Soviets face us at every step in our relations with other nations. There are two ways to know what the Soviets are planning or thinking -- looking at the way they act and at their official beliefs. What is said below, under Russian Objectives, is based on both Soviet acts and Soviet beliefs; as long as the Soviets believe the theories of Marx and Lenin, they will oppose the "capitalist" U.S. and other non-communist governments. As long as the Soviets do oppose us, their opposition is one of the most important facts of life for the U.S. What do you think this means about the kind of foreign policy we need? Do we need to be watchful? Is Soviet opposition a danger to the U.S.? In what ways, if any?

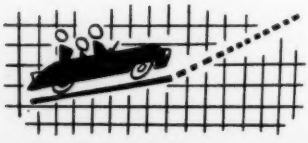
If there is danger to the U.S., does our safety depend on the rest of the world? Do our security and our prosperity depend on world trade? How much of the world matters to the U.S.A.? These four columns furnish facts and questions to help citizens answer these questions in their own way.

Background to Remember

U.S.

The United States has three basic objectives:

To keep the U.S. secure and safe from attack.



To have a high and rising standard of living.

USSR

Russian Objectives:
The Soviets, too, want security and prosperity for their country. But Soviet Marxism holds that capitalist countries are dangerous enemies and always will be until destroyed or communized. The Soviets therefore think they must destroy capitalism to get real security.

The Soviet Union will continue to oppose the capitalist U.S. The method may vary but the object will be to add peoples and economic resources to her orbit; to weaken U.S. and free world power

SECURITY
PROSPERITY
FREEDOM

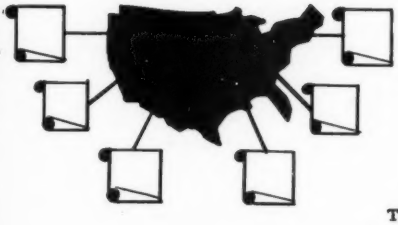
DEPEND ON

2. Does U.S. Security Depend on the Rest of the World?

Security means safety from successful enemy attack and from defeat. Our first really important question will be how we can get the best defense. For years, under both Republicans and Democrats the U.S. has been acting in the belief the best defense demands many foreign ties. The U.S. has treaties, and some of them would take us into war if a far-off country is invaded. What good do treaties do us? Do we need them? Should we fight only on our shores, or on foreign soil? We have ringed the Soviet tightly with bases for troops, ships and planes. Do we need such bases overseas, which commit us to the countries that let us use their soil? To have bases, you must be willing to defend them. If bases are partly to show any enemy we can strike back hard if attacked, does this make for war..peace..security? Do we need allies in Europe and other foreign areas? Why?

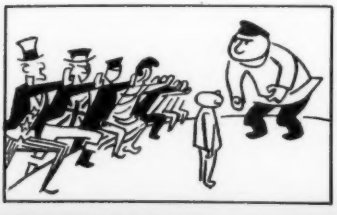
Has foreign aid "paid off" in U.S. security? In allies? In heading off communist revolutions? Is a free, non-communist Western Europe important to the U.S.? Would a communist Western Europe be useful to Russia? The U.N. has stopped wars in other parts of the world. Is that important to U.S. peace and safety? Have any U.N. acts had value for our strategy? What do you think about Iran and Greece? How could the U.N. be more useful? What has U.N. action meant to the Soviets? Do you think they have welcomed U.N. peace actions?

Some U.S. Treaties



The Rio Treaty of Mutual Defense 1947	21 American republics agree an attack on one an attack on all.
North Atlantic Treaty - 1949	U.S. and 13 other countries in Mediterranean or North Atlantic areas will go to war if any member is attacked. (1954) NATO votes German entry.
The ANZUS Pact and Philippine Defense Treaty - 1951	U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Philippine Republic agree that attack on any member in Pacific area a threat to peace.
Manila Pact - 1954 SEATO	The above countries and Thailand, Pakistan, Britain and France agree to stand together against any attack.
Japanese Security Treaty - 1951 Korean Mutual Defense Treaty 1953	U. S. will defend Japan and Korea against aggression.

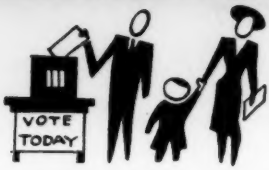
FROM TREATY TO TEAMWORK IN DEFENSE



The North Atlantic Treaty

Allied Mutual Defense Act of 1949

North Atlantic Treaty Organization



To maintain our free democratic society.

Soviet Strategy and Gains

Since the beginning of World War II, the Soviet Union has used its political and military power to -

Annex:
Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, part of Poland (NAZI-Soviet Pact), part of Finland, East Prussia, and part of Rumania (post-war.)

Force into satellite status:
Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and East Germany.

Support communist military campaigns in:
China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Tibet.

Make internal trouble in:
France and Italy, through national communist parties which have used the tools of propaganda, agitation, strikes, and blocking and delaying government decisions and acts.

Wage cold war:
by such acts as the Berlin Blockade (1949), Tudeh Party attempt to attach part of Iran to Russia (1946), delaying Austrian peace treaty, general obstruction in UN.

NOTE: Not everyone agrees on what we should expect the Soviets to do. Some experts believe that if the U.S. and other democratic nations quietly but firmly block every Soviet thrust or threat, the Russians will learn that it gets them nowhere, will stop struggling against capitalism and try to get along peacefully. Others believe that Russian Marxist theory will change, because they think that in time all theories change; therefore, they believe the U.S. should watch for any sign that the Soviets are beginning to believe in peace -- and that we should be ready to meet them halfway, since war could be a disaster to both sides. Most agree that in the past, although the Soviets have changed their tactics, they have not changed their Marxist belief on the need to press toward world communism.

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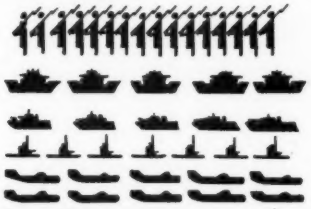
The Brussels Treaty of 1948 was a Western European defensive alliance. The U.S. felt the Russian threat demanded a broader and stronger defense structure. Negotiations with the Brussels group and other Mediterranean and North Atlantic countries led to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949.

The U.S. agreed to help the allied countries reach necessary military strength. The Defense Act provided North Atlantic Treaty countries with arms and equipment to expand their production of military goods.

NATO was formed to turn the words of the North Atlantic Treaty into immediate action in case of attack. NATO has a permanent staff. The NATO staff coordinates its members' defense preparations, and will serve as a general staff in case of war.

U.S. Bases in the World

From a global view American army, navy, and air force bases are a formidable circle on the outer rim of the Soviet world. These "rimland" bases in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East are there to hold back Soviet expansion. Russia knows that if she attacks the U.S. or its allies, our forces could strike back from these bases. 13 countries have allowed the U.S. (by treaty or agreement) to put bases on their soil. There are 20 bases in England and 12 bases in Japan alone.



U.S. Aid and Joint Security Programs

Between the war's end and 1953, the U.S. put 43 billion dollars into foreign aid. This was about what we spent on our own armed forces and defense set-up in 1953. Three-fourths of this aid went to European countries, the rest to other world areas. In Europe, aid went through three stages:

Emergency Relief: Until the end of 1947, much of Europe was hungry and ill, and the U.S. helped with food, medical aid, seed and other farm needs, etc.

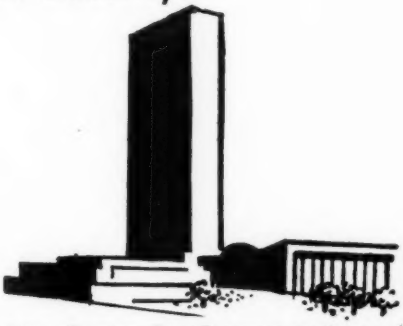
Recovery and Security: In 1947, the U.S. gave aid to strengthen Turkey and Greece, then both threatened by communist action. In 1948, the Marshall Plan was passed; it aimed to rebuild European production in the mines, factories and on the farms -- restore strength and prosperity, and stop the growth of communism.

Defense Teamwork: In 1949, 13 European nations joined with the U.S. in the North Atlantic Treaty, and agreed to fight if any of them was attacked (by the Soviets). The allies stepped up their defense programs sharply -- and the U.S. passed the Mutual Defense Act, to help them arm and develop strong defense industries of their own. By late 1951 Soviet pressures and the Korean War had turned all thoughts to defense. All U.S. aid programs were put under a Foreign Operations Administration. This provides military aid in arms and production, bases and men, to Europe, Near East, Africa, Asia and the Americas. It also aids the development of backward (underdeveloped) areas. The accent has moved steadily to military aid for joint security: half our aid went for military needs in 1950-53, over two-thirds in 1953, even more today.

Results: No Western European country under communist control; communist parties have lost ground heavily in parliaments; Asian and European countries have joined the U.S. to stop any Russian aggression.

The U.N. and U.S. Security

At the end of World War II, the U.S. and its allies set up the United Nations, believing that as long as the wartime allies worked together, they could keep peace. A Security Council was created in U.N. to deal with wars or threats to peace. But one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, our wartime ally Russia, itself turned out to be a threat to peace. The Soviets have often used their veto to prevent U.N. action. Hampered by this problem, the U.N. has made the record summarized below: Iran: Russian troops stayed in North Iran (Persia) after the War, interfered in politics, and seemed about to take over one province and part of Iran's oil. The Security Council took up the case, and Soviet troops withdrew peacefully. Greece: East European satellite countries were actively aiding communist rebels in Greece. The Security Council sent observers to watch Greek borders, helped prevent more serious trouble. Korea: On June 26, 1950, the U.S. sent its armed forces into Korea to stop an invasion; on June 27, the U.N. backed us, called for collective action. Sixteen member states sent some armed forces, forty gave some aid. Palestine: U.N. ended Arab-Israel war with an armistice in 1949. Indonesia: Dutch-Indonesian fighting stopped, Indonesia made independent by Security Council mediation, 1949. Kashmir: Security Council arranged a truce, headed off war between India and Pakistan.



THE REST OF THE

3. Does World Trade Affect the U.S.A.?

The United States is the richest country in the world. During World War II we supplied both ourselves and our allies with all manner of war goods. Afterwards, the U.S. produced goods for itself and helped to rebuild the economies of other nations. Now while rebuilding its own defense arsenal, the U.S. is helping to arm the free world. The U.S. economy has been important to the prosperity and security of the free world - but are the economic resources of the free world important to the prosperity and security of the U.S.? As can be seen from the facts below, many jobs depend on exports, the U.S. has many trade agreements, imports raw materials, and is loaning money to get even more. Are the goods we get from overseas important to the efficient operation of the U.S. economy? Do they cost Americans' jobs? The problems of defense are immediate. If we didn't get strategic raw materials from overseas, where would we get them? Could we use U.S.-made substitutes? If available, would substitutes be as good or as cheap as the real thing? If we need these raw materials, should we help other countries develop them or should we work to be economically self-sufficient? Would U.S. security be endangered if these sources of supply were lost to the Russians? Can we have security arrangements with the rest of the free world based on treaties and bases without having economic relations? Should the U.S. be concerned with the prosperity of other countries?

Exports and U.S. Prosperity

Though America consumes 95% of what she produces, many jobs in industry and agriculture depend on the other 5% which is exported. The U.S. government reported that in 1949, total exports were worth nearly $12 billion. Of this, $9.8 billion in non-agricultural goods created 1,695,000 jobs. Exports also accounted for much farm income. For example, nearly 40% of the cotton and dried fruit crops were exported.

INDUSTRY: Jobs that depend on exports -- 820,000 in trades and services, manufacturing, transportation .. 415,000 in metal, textile and transportation equipment industries ... 375,000 in lumber and others.

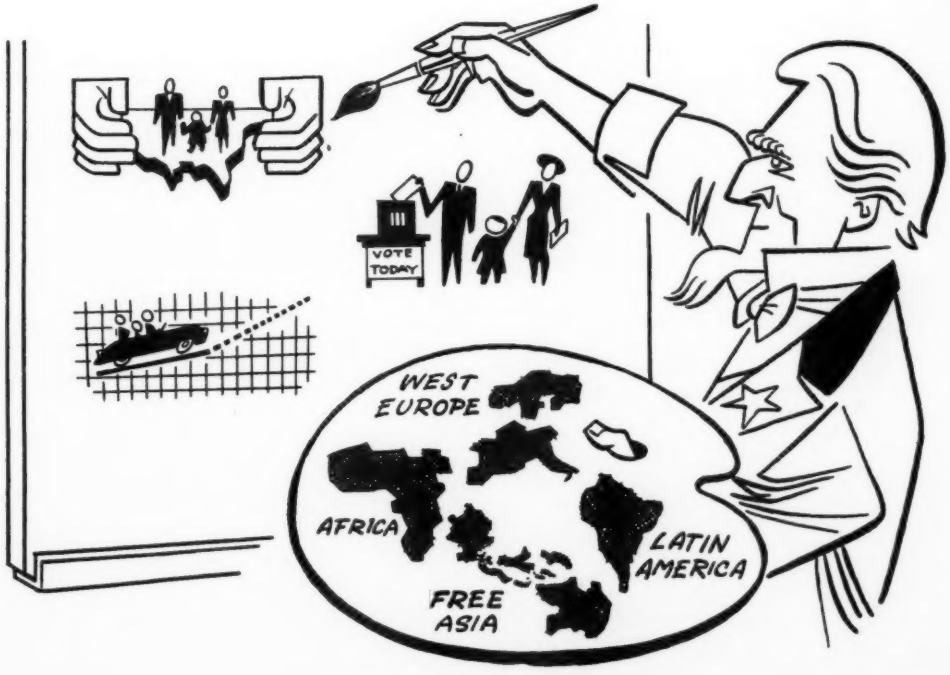
AGRICULTURE: We export 35-40% of U.S. cotton, dried fruit, rice ... we export 25% or more of our wheat, tobacco, lard ... and up to 13% of many products - milk, soybeans, citrus fruits, etc.

Imports also take some jobs away from American workers. There is no accurate information on how many. Assume that $100 in imports causes the loss of the same number of jobs as are gained through $100 in exports. Then imports of $6.6

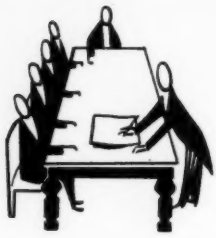
E WORLD ?

4. How Much of the World Matters to the U.S.A.?

You have thought about and discussed America's complicated system of political, economic and military arrangements with countries in every part of the non-Soviet world. Russia would like to see these arrangements destroyed. If the U.S. objective is to compose a picture of security, prosperity and freedom what must be done? Can the picture be completed if we ignore any section of the non-Soviet world? What do we lose if the Soviets break our ring of bases? What do we lose if the Soviets gain control of a strategic material source we need? Even if a country is not of urgent strategic or economic importance to the U.S., can we afford to let the Russians have it? Is it reasonable to try to deny the Russians things which we don't need now, but which they would need to gain their world wide objectives? Can the U.S. be safe in total isolation? In partial isolation? The facts below show what other areas of the free world have. They also show what would happen if certain areas became part of the Soviet orbit. By using these facts together with all additional information in section #1 and #2, you must decide if the U.S. Can Meet Its Needs By Living With Part of the World and Forgetting the Rest.



ers. However, over half of 1949 imports were of raw materials, mostly not available in the U.S. We can therefore estimate that 1949 imports cost U.S. workers about one-half million jobs; this is only an estimate.



RECIPROCAL TRADE

The U.S. has negotiated reciprocal trade agreements with 48 countries and along with 31 other countries, signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The reciprocal agreements and GATT are designed to increase trade through mutual tariff and other trade concessions. Exports to trade treaty countries expanded 600% between 1934 and 1947. Trade with other countries expanded only 300%. Industries which benefited most from agreements are auto, aircraft, machinery, wood, paper, rubber, textiles, chemicals and metals. The U.S. has also negotiated special agreements to insure the supply of essential and strategic raw materials.

U.S. Strategic Imports

The United States with only 1/14 of the world's land and population produces over half the world's wealth. Imports, though small compared to total U.S. production, are essential to the efficiency and productivity of the economy. In 1949 U.S. imports of $6.6 billion were only 3% the value of total production. Raw materials accounted for over half all imports, finished goods one third, and foodstuffs the balance.

During World War II, the U.S. used substitutes wherever possible and stopped all non-essential civilian production. Yet it was still necessary to import at least 2/5ths of 20 different strategic raw materials to produce necessary war materials.

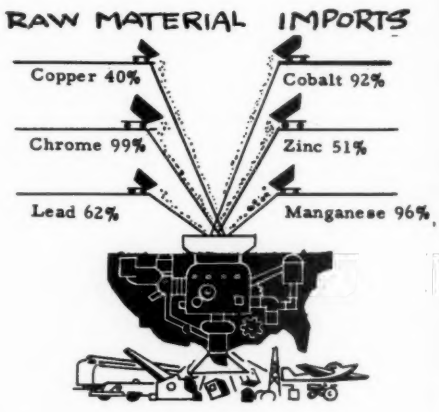
The U.S. has a Strategic and Basic Materials program to increase production of strategic resources among U.S. allies. The program has two main objectives.

To:

Make sure there are enough supplies of those strategic materials essential for efficient production and technological development in the U.S. and other areas of the free world.

Make sure production can be expanded fast in case of another war.

There have been a total of 39 development projects. Over half are located in the African colonies of U.S. European allies. Most of the projects are financed by loans to be paid back to the U.S. in strategic raw materials. Some of the money is used for road, port, powerplant, and other facilities to make mining possible. The balance is spent to develop mines and actual production facilities.



Strategic Facts on Raw Materials

✓ The U.S. defense effort depends on importing key raw materials. One small example out of many: We must have heat-resistant steel to make jet engines (and rockets, high speed machine tools, etc.) We need cobalt and tungsten to make steel heat-resistant.

The U.S. imports 90% of its cobalt, mainly from the Belgian Congo; and 50% of tungsten, mainly from South Africa.

America will need to import more and more. Experts estimate U.S. production will use 150% more tungsten and 350% more cobalt in twenty years.

✓ In case enemy action should cut overseas supplies or bomb out U.S. mines and mills, the U.S. could lack 74 different strategic and critical raw materials. We are therefore buying and stockpiling these now.

About half our stockpile comes from the U.S. - but 37 of these strategic materials must come almost entirely from abroad.

Strategic stockpiles in 300 U.S. warehouses are now worth $5.5 billion with plans to increase stocks to almost $9 billion. For comparison: the U.S. spent $6.5 billion per month during the war year 1943.

World Areas - Important to Us?

W. Europe -strategic location; heart of NATO	306,000,000 people - world's greatest pool of skilled workers.	Half world's merchant fleet - banking center - link to East.
Near East and Africa World's most rapid economic development.	282,000,000 people - center of Moslem World; East-west crossroad.	Globe's main source of certain strategic materials. Cobalt 85%, oil 50%, columbite 99%.
Free Asia 9 newly independent countries.	719,000,000 people - world's largest population bloc.	Strategic location on rim of Soviet orbit - raw materials.
Latin America Strategic importance - Panama Canal.	160,000,000 people - backdoor to U.S.	Supplies iron ore, oil, tin to U.S.
United States	151,000,000 people - (over 50% of world's production.)	

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Free World now outproduces Soviet Bloc 3 to 1

BUT

If Europe were lost

Soviets would outproduce the Free World

CRUDE OIL RESERVES

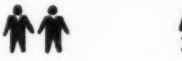
94% of crude oil reserves are in the Free World

BUT

If Middle East were lost

Soviets would control half the world's oil reserves.

POPULATION



People of the Free World outnumber Soviet Bloc 2 to 1

BUT

If Europe and Asia were lost Soviets would lead 3 to 1

HEMISPHERE SECURITY

All American countries are our allies

BUT

Loss of Latin America would expose our flanks

COLONIAL AREAS

The U.S. now gets all Congo's uranium, key colonial materials. BUT

If Africa were lost, Free World would lose critical mineral wealth

Your Opinion Counts!

Should the U.S.A. --

Try to defend its own shores or build treaties and alliances for a world wide security system?

Work for economic self-sufficiency or build its own economy along with and as part of the free world economy?

Maintain freedom by working with other free countries or oppose the Soviet Union alone?

Or _____

Your opinion on these questions is important, but only if you decide on what has to be done to put your decision into action. The U.S. Congress will be acting on matters that affect the conduct of America's foreign policy and relations with the rest of the world. What should the U.S. Congress do about these issues:

Reciprocal trade agreements and tariff legislation

U.S. defense budget

Military and economic aid for free world allies

Overseas raw materials development program

#3

HOW

1. Background To Remember

America has its first great system of global war-power at a high cost in taxes. All this is because of a belief that unless we stop them, the Soviets will push on to conquer the world. Some European and Asians think this belief is wrong and some Americans are not sure we need to try to stop the Soviets.

The Soviets spend vast sums telling the rest of the world that the US is a nation of "imperialist warmongers". Russian leaders warn their people that we and other capitalistic countries may attack the USSR at any time.

Let us look at the record for the facts about the US and the Soviets in world affairs, and see what leads these give us on today's greatest problem: do we really need to try to oppose the spread of Soviet power?

Russia Since the Revolution

After World War I, U.S. got Japan to pull out of Far Eastern Siberia; the U.S. also sent Herbert Hoover's relief mission during the Russian famine of 1921. The U.S. began to trade with the Soviets during the late '20's, and recognized the USSR in 1933. Though they agreed not to, communists continued their organization and propaganda in U.S.

The Soviets signed a pact with the Nazis, agreeing not to attack each other, and dividing up Poland between them. Fearing no attack from Russia, Hitler then felt safe to go ahead with war against West Europe's democracies. (Stalin-Hitler Pact, 1939)

German attack on Russia (June 1941) brought Russia into wartime alliance with France and England to fight common enemy; then the U.S. entered the war as an ally; but even during the war, in spite of US arms aid, the Soviets were suspicious and critical of the Western allies.

W SHALL WE DEA

2. Soviet Beliefs: Do They Call For World Communism?

Soviet leaders from Lenin on have puzzled the world with their overnight reverses of policy. After years of opposing Nazism, the Russians made a deal with Hitler in 1939, and said the German government was all right. Through World War II, Stalin said the Soviet Union was a friend of the West -- but at the war's end, the Soviets at once began the Cold War. Notice the quotes below on the United Nations. These are cases of Soviet "doubletalk." What do you think those quotes actually mean? All the other quotes in the column are official Soviet philosophy. To understand the Soviets, experts say you need to know what their theory is. Study of these quotes will help you understand what the Soviets mean, in spite of their daily doubletalk. What is the Soviet foreign policy out to accomplish -- what is it for? What would be the purpose of Soviet strategy in Europe and Asia? What kind of peace do the Soviets want? Here are their own words.

Soviet Beliefs on Peace

"Every 'peace program' is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support, aid and develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses that is starting everywhere (ferment among the masses, protest, fraternization in the trenches, strikes, deomonstrations.....)

--Lenin - "Central Committee Proposals Submitted to Socialist Conference" - April 1916.

"Therefore, the primary duty of the proletariat, as the fighter for socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army -- that mighty weapon of the proletariat -- and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war. There is a glaring contradiction between the imperialists' policy of piling up armaments and their hypocritical talk about peace. There is no such contradiction, however, between the Soviet government's preparations for defense and for revolutionary war and a consistent peace policy. Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means." "

--"Theses of the VIth World Congress of the Communist International," 1928.

Belief or Doubletalk on the U.N. 1946

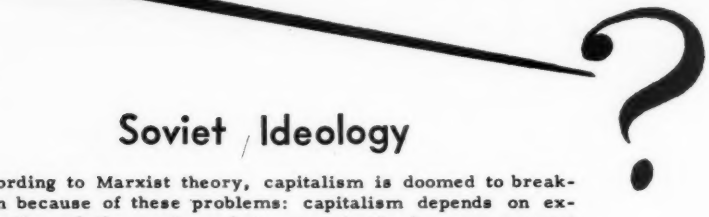
"It is hardly possible, however, that the contemporary grave diggers of sovereignty are so naive as to believe in earnest that peace and harmony on earth can be obtained by the creation of an international parliament."

--Bolshevik, "International Law at its Present Stage", No. 19, 1946.

"The masses know that peace is possible only on the basis of cooperation among existing states ... The Soviet Union is fighting to have the United Nations as effective as possible."

--Bolshevik, "Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology," No. 22, 1946, p. 51.

Russia's unfriendliness toward her former allies increased as soon as World War II was over, creating the "Cold War." Despite promises, the Soviets made satellites of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. In the Cold War, Russia has forced the Western allies to rearm, has kept various parts of the world in turmoil, and has made it hard for the U.N. to do its work.

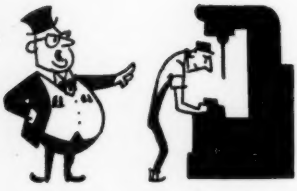


Soviet Ideology

According to Marxist theory, capitalism is doomed to breakdown because of these problems: capitalism depends on exploitation of the workers but cannot in the long run prevent unemployment, depression and starvation. The workers will then rise up, force the exploiters out and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Soviets believe that capitalist governments are not really democratic and therefore represent only the privileged class of exploiters, want to keep things as they are. Therefore, there can never be any real peace between communism and capitalism.

This pattern - the exploitation of the workers and the final defeat of capitalism through its own failure, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat - is, according to the Marxian theory, a matter of historical determination - the faith that this must come about as a normal course of history. Having accepted this as true, the Soviets believe that in the long run history is on their side, and either capitalism will destroy itself or soviets will triumph by another means sooner.

But Soviet Marxism holds that the USSR should not just wait for capitalism to collapse -- instead, the communists should use every possible tactic and means to destroy it -- and that they should work tirelessly at that task.



MARXISTS SAY

WORKERS EXPLOITED

MARXISTS BELIEVE

CAPITALISM WILL BREAK DOWN

MARXISTS THINK WORKERS

WILL REVOLT, TAKE OVER

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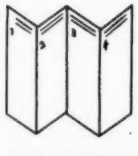

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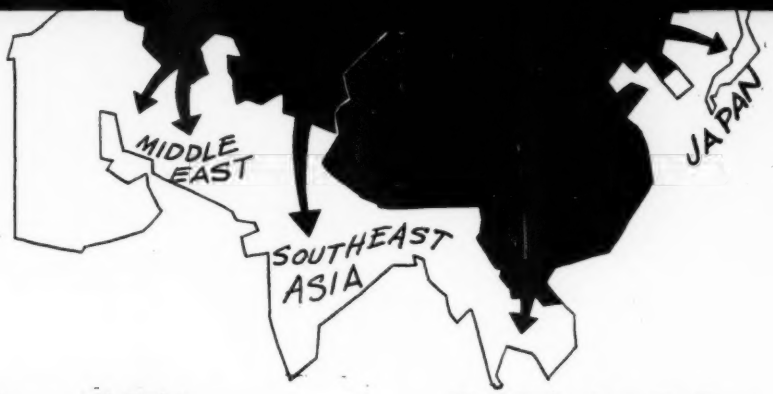


On Tactics and Ethics

"The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary compromises, to "tack", to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, and so on, in order to accelerate the coming into power of the Communists."

--Lenin, Selected Works (New York, 1943, vol. X, p. 138)

"Morals or ethics is the body of norms and rules on the conduct of Soviet peoples. At the root of Communist morality, said Lenin, lies the struggle for the consolidation and the completion of Communism. Therefore, from the point of view of Communist morality, only those acts are moral which contribute to the building up of a new Communist society."

--Radio Moscow, August 20, 1950

On Foreign Policy

"I propose a toast to the director of our foreign policy, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. Do not forget that a good foreign policy sometimes counts for more than two or three armies at the front. To our Vyacheslav!"

--Stalin - "Kremlin Banquet for Commanders of Red Army" (May 24, 1945) - Pravda.

"The tasks of the Party in foreign policy are: (1) to utilize each and every contradiction and conflict among the surrounding capitalist groups and governments for the purpose of disintegrating imperialism; (2) to spare no pains or means to render assistance to the proletarian revolutions in the West; (3) to take all necessary measures to strengthen the national liberation movement in the East; (4) to strengthen the Red Army."

--Stalin - "Party After Seizure of Power" - Pravda, No. 190, August 28, 1921.

Soviet Beliefs on Capitalism

"Capitalist encirclement means that there is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established the Socialist order on its own territories and besides this there are many countries, bourgeois countries, which continue to carry on a capitalist mode of life and surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, to break it, or at any rate, to undermine its power and weaken it. Our comrades forget this fundamental fact. But it is precisely this fact which determines the basis of relations between the capitalist encircling countries and the Soviet Union."

--Stalin - "Report to Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of CPSU(b)," (March 3, 1937)

"As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph -- a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

--Lenin - "Speech to Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries," November 26, 1920.

L WITH THE USS

Will the Soviets Press For

3. A Communist World?

Studying the key Soviet statements on their real foreign policy tells something of Soviet theory. If the Soviets believe their own theory -- and they seem to -- that is a weakness and a strength. If they believe they are "encircled" and in great danger until capitalism is destroyed, what will be behind their acts? Does this "destroy or be destroyed" theory mean the Soviets will use open war -- cold war -- or even just secret opposition to the West? What does it seem to mean about real peace? Co-existence means to live side by side -- not necessarily being friendly. Do you think this is possible for the U.S. and the USSR? What would make such co-existence more possible, a strong U.S. or a weak U.S., in your judgement? Why? How important -- above all -- are the stakes: that is, could we afford to give up what we are fighting for? Are we really opposing the Soviets over something important? How important to you? How far should the U.S. go to defend that stake? Does it matter if the Soviets capture other world areas? Why? Which could they take without mattering to the U.S.? The summary below, along with the quotes you have just read, will aid your discussion.

U.S. and Soviet Goals

Russia:

To create a communist world in which there would be no capitalist countries, and therefore (Russia thinks) no possible enemies. To survive -- for Soviet Marxists believe the USSR must destroy or be destroyed. To live at peace in a communist world.

U.S.A.

To survive. To be free and prosperous. To live at peace in a peaceful world.

Some Stakes in the Struggle

W. Europe -strategic location; heart of NATO	306,000,000 people - world's greatest pool of skilled workers.	Half world's merchant fleet - banking center - link to East.
Near East and Africa World's most rapid economic development.	282,000,000 people - center of Moslem World; East-west crossroad.	Globe's main source of certain strategic materials. Cobalt 85%, oil 50%, columbite 99%.
Free Asia 9 newly independent countries.	719,000,000 people - world's largest population bloc.	Strategic location on rim of Soviet orbit - raw materials.
Latin America Strategic importance - Panama Canal.	160,000,000 people - backdoor to U.S.	Supplies iron ore, oil, tin to U.S.
United States	151,000,000 people - (over 50% of world's production.)	

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Free World now outproduces Soviet Bloc 3 to 1

BUT

If Europe were lost

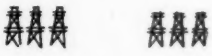
Soviets would outproduce the Free World

CRUDE OIL RESERVES

94% of crude oil reserves are in the Free World

BUT

If Middle East were lost



Soviets would control half the world's oil reserves.

POPULATION

SR ?

4. Can the U.S. Compete Successfully?

The U.S.A. and the USSR stand face to face, each with immense powers of destruction through war. Our republic is in danger of its life, for an unintentional move by either side could start an atom war or tilt the scales of world power in favor of the Soviet Union. This is one of the great crises of world history. We need to weigh our strategy with sober wisdom. From what you have already read, do you think we need to expect the Soviets to work for the defeat of capitalist America? Or will they decide that is not important? Are Soviet purposes stubborn and steady -- or do they change basic purposes often? Can we afford to let the Soviets win in key countries close to home? Far away? Does the Soviet government probably want a true friendship with the U.S., and peace as we think of it? Why or why not? If you pick out two choices of foreign policy you think the Soviets may select -- what kind of foreign policy would the U.S. need to match them? Can Americans afford party politics and frequent changes in foreign policy? Thinking carefully about the U.S. tradition and our special assets and strong points, can you list some truly American "Tools of Policy" as strong or stronger than the Soviet "tools"? Do we have other kinds of tools, spiritual, educational, etc? What kind of policy do you think we should follow to deal with the USSR in the world?

The USSR and U.S. Foreign Relations

Throughout the Cold War struggle, the USSR itself has let others do the fighting -- and kept out of any direct war. The Soviets believe that capitalist countries will fight against and weaken each other; and that capitalism will break down into depression because of "fatal flaws." Most experts think that the Soviets believe they can gain more from "peace" than by risking a third World War now in which their communist state might be destroyed.

What the Soviets Might Do

Column II shows the basis of Marxist Russian foreign policy. Unless Soviet leaders cease to believe their own basic theory, their policy will aim to destroy capitalism and create a communist world. But as Lenin said, it can be expected to combine "strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism with the ability to make all the necessary compromises, to 'tack', to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, and so on ...." Some possible Soviet policy "tacks" follow:

I. "Peace and Friendship." The USSR could slow down the Cold War, offer friendship to Europe and Asia, and convince them that she wants only peace. Soviet diplomats would speak only of peace, be polite and friendly, and less uncooperative. The USSR might make no bold, open moves in the struggle, encourage the various communist parties to work quietly. The USSR might offer aid to Asia and other areas, woo friends to communism -- and try to make U.S. defense efforts look like "war mongering."

II. Carry on or Speed Up the Cold War. Possible gains in Asia and the Middle East might still be made by all-out backing of local communists, pressure on their governments, propaganda, etc. The USSR could go on with the Cold War and still make "peace" in some areas. This Soviet policy would be like that of the years since 1947.

III. "Peace" with Local Offensives. The USSR might combine Policy I, "Peace and Friendship", with attempts to communize a few countries where things seemed favorable -- in Southeast Asia, for example; in these local offensives, the USSR would be careful to seem to take no direct part.

IV. "Bide Time." The USSR might decide the U.S.-led opposition is so strong that the Soviets should stop pushing for new gains now, and concentrate on improving conditions in the whole Soviet bloc. The West might then let its defense alliances fall apart, giving much better opportunities for Soviet victories later on.

V. World War III. The USSR might intentionally or accidentally

HEMISPHERE SECURITY

All American countries are our allies

BUT

Loss of Latin America would expose our flanks

COLONIAL AREAS

The U.S. now gets all Congo's uranium, key colonial materials. BUT

If Africa were lost, Free World would lose critical mineral wealth

People of the Free World outnumber Soviet Bloc 2 to 1

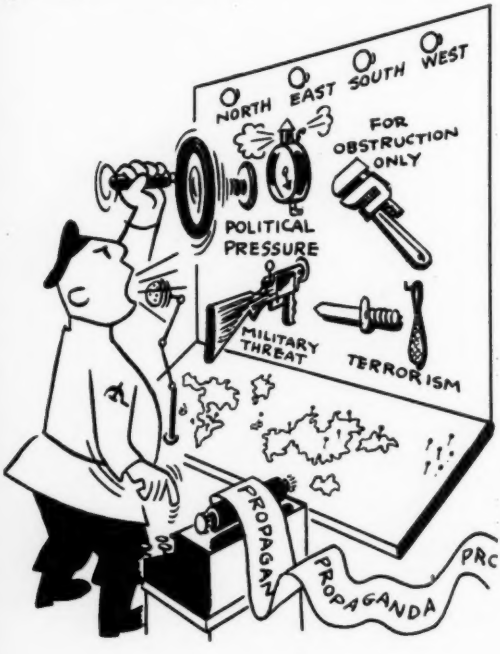
BUT

If Europe and Asia were lost Soviets would lead 3 to 1

U.S. and Soviet Strategy

By the U.S.A.

America's approach to the world struggle has developed slowly. Following the period of providing relief to liberated countries, the US simply provided day to day assistance to Western European countries where economic instability and communist tactics threatened democratic governments. This evolved into the Truman Doctrine, the policy of "containing" (holding back) the Soviet Union. The policy was announced with the provision of military aid to Greece and Turkey, countries then under communist pressure. The US then began developing an integrated system of world alliances backed up with a well-advertised increase in military and atomic strength. At the same time, the US has sought to give both economic and military aid to its allies, with priority on defense needs. The US has not forgotten, however, that prosperity is an important weapon in any country in the struggle against communism.



By Russia

Russia:

Russia's cold war strategy has been one of constantly shifting attacks on Europe and Asia. In Europe: after annexing Eastern Europe, Russia concentrated on political activities in other European countries. While building up a huge military machine Russia has used subversion, propaganda, trickery, obstruction, sabotage, and plotting through communist cells. The object was to undermine institutions and hope to capture power. In Asia: all these same tools have been used, along with giving arms to the Chinese and other communist armed forces. On the international scene and in the UN, Russia has used every political and diplomatic tool to divide the West, smear the US, and build both Soviet might and Soviet myth.

Nowhere has the Red army actually fought, Satellite soldiers have done the fighting in China, Korea and Indo-China - keeping Russia herself from the risk of open war.

start World War III.

The USSR — TOOLS OF POLICY — The USA

Some tools to carry out a policy --

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PROPAGANDA

Peace campaigns: Win world good will by selling the idea that the U.S. wants war and only the Soviets truly wish peace. _____

Soviet Myths: Tell the world's poor that communism offers a "worker's paradise of plenty" and that capitalism will exploit them, keep them miserable; spread belief in the eventual triumph of communism; build a picture of the USSR as a great peaceful brotherhood of many races; try to convince young nations that communism is the solution to their problems. _____

Display: Build some "show pieces" of Soviet achievement to show other countries as examples.

Cultural Offensive: Use tours of top Soviet artists, musicians, dancers, to convince the world of the cultural supremacy of communism while making propaganda about the crass, materialistic U.S. _____

ARMED FORCES

Build strong Soviet and satellite armies, navies, air forces, bases, A and H-Bomb supplies. Use these to create fear or admiration -- or for war. Supply arms and training for guerilla revolts in other countries. _____

DIPLOMACY

Talk peace and offer treaties of friendship to countries which want or need peace. Try to separate the U.S. from its allies. Always take any side which will embarrass the U.S. in any international question or dispute. Try to get neutral countries to become Soviet allies. _____

AID AND TRADE

Offer markets and trade -- all-important to some countries. Give some foreign aid for propaganda value. _____

POLITICAL EXPORTS

"Educate" foreign communist leaders and agents. Build and back communist parties abroad, help them plan political strategy, subversive activities, send them money and materials. _____

TOOLS OF U.S. POLICY. Write in under Tools of Policy above what you think are the best tools of policy our economy, strength, and American way of life give us to meet what the Soviets can do.

WHAT SHALL U.S. POLICY BE?

I. PRESS THE COLD WAR ACTIVELY. _____

II. BE STRONG, BUT TALK AND WORK FOR PEACE. _____

III. WAR ... _____

IV. PEACE .. _____

V. _____

Your Opinion Counts!

U.S. foreign policy to meet Soviet policy should be based on:
(Check Those You Are For, or Add Others)

A stepped-up Cold War
Firm, quiet Free-World defense
Preventive War
A deal with the USSR for real peace now
Freeing the satellites, by force if necessary
Fighting if the Soviets annoy us

OPINIONS MUST BE ACTED ON TO HAVE MEANING
What about:

1. Increasing, cutting or holding the line on our "Defense Establishment" (armed forces and arms program)
2. Drafting enough American boys for the kind of "Defense Establishment" you want.
3. A tax program big enough to pay for the policy you choose on:
   -- Defense forces -- Aid programs -- A U.S. "Public Relations" or Public Information program

#4

DO WE K

Background to Remember

Security -- keeping our country safe from attack in the H-Bomb age -- is our first concern. American boys died in Korea because U.S. leaders believed the communists had to be stopped - for our security. Plainly, the North Koreans were not going to attack U.S. soil; we fought because of a longer-run view. This was and is that if the U.S. lets them, the Soviets will conquer or subvert the world piece by piece -- and in the end, they would have the U.S. badly outnumbered and surrounded.

Other sincere Americans believe we should keep hands off, and not worry about what the Soviets take on foreign soil - just be strong in our defense at home.

Still other Americans believe that weapons cannot win, and that this country should try to find peace with the USSR; or that we should be so spiritually strong and right that other nations would stand with us, and even Russia might mend her ways.

Whatever course the U.S. is to take, it is terribly important for citizens to learn the facts about Soviet strength and behavior, and to think out our own answers on what kind of security the United States needs. Here are some of the background facts.

Who Is Winning the Cold War?

"The cold war" is a name invented to describe something new -- the back-and-forth struggle as the Soviets try to win more of the world without a "shooting war," and as the United States and its allies try to keep them from succeeding. The story of what the Soviet Union has done since the end of the war tells a great deal about her methods, and what you may expect. It also makes it possible to judge how successful she has been. Have the Soviets been making gains in the years since World War II? What do you think about their methods? Could or should the U.S. use the same strategy as the USSR? Are such methods likely to work in the long run? To each of these questions, why? -- what do you base your opinion on? You will also find below an account of what the U.S. has done. Has it worked? Are these good methods -- or are there better ones that a democracy might use? How do you think the rest of the world will judge the U.S. and the USSR, in the end? Do you approve or disapprove of these U.S. policies? Does the record of what the Soviets have done make you feel we need a strong defense system?

The USA

Since the end of World War II, the U.S. has used its diplomatic, political and military strength to:

The USS

Since the beginning of Wo
the Soviet Union has used i
and military power to -

E NEED STRONG A

U.S. - Soviet Strength: Arms

	U.S.A.		Russia
In the air:			
Combat planes	10,000		20,000
Production per year	6,000		5,000
On the sea:			
Submarines	100		375
Cruisers	20		24
Destroyers	175		125
Carriers	22		0
On the ground:			
Active army divisions	19		175
In New Weapons:			
Atomic and Hydrogen devices			

U.S. built A-bomb in 1945, H-bomb in 1952, has put over 12 billion in atomic development.

Russia gaining atomically - was 4 years late on A-bomb, only one year on H-bomb.

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USSR

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on has used its political
power to -

What De
Should the

Do we need a strong defense? of the world me ans working with ot Where would we need to hold the portant to us? Are population bases? Raw materials? What safe for us to forget about? T will make the U.S. safer? Wh and decided to let the Soviets t have to become one big fortress of peace be better with a stron hold back communism better prosperous world? Here are so

Basic Choic

One of these two will be the key be best for future U.S. security

We should defend the U.S. and perhaps the

Provide economic and military aid to free world:
In the post war period, the U.S. spent over 40 billions for military and economic aid, post-war relief, military aid to Greece and Turkey, basic economic aid through ECA (Marshall Plan), arms and funds to give NATO te eth, s trengthen other free world countries throughout the world.

Annex:
Latvia,
part of P
part of F
part of R

Force in
Rumania
Czechosl
Germany

Establish and defend pro-West governments:
The U.S. helped set up pro-West democratic governments in Korea and West Germany. After Red attack, the U.S. defended Korea through UN, and is helping her rebuild through UN Korean Relief and Reconstruction Agency. The U.S. has also helped German economic recovery and bested Russian blockade of Berlin with airlift.

Encourage guerilla warfare:
Malaya, and earlier in the Philippines, and Greece.

Wage cold war:
by such acts as the Berlin Blockade (1949), Tudeh Party attempt to attach part of Iran to Russia (1946), delaying Austrian peace treaty, general obstruction in UN.

Build alliance system:
Joined hands in alliances with 38 countries around the Atlantic, Mediterranean and parts of the Pacific. Supplied treaty partners with economic and military aid. Made agreements to increase the West's strategic raw material supplies, and cut down those open to the USSR: The U.S. has assisted allies to develop strategic raw material sources in their own countries and colonies.

Support
paigns in
China, N
Tibet.

Make int
France
commun
the tools
strikes,
governm

The results have been:

Economic: While the Soviet five year production plan is behind schedule, Western Europe and other free world allies have built more stable economies and higher military and civilian production. Economic and technical aid have helped raise standards of living in other areas.

Strategic: The U.S. system of bases and military assistance stopped Soviet expansion in Europe, and slowed it down in Asia. Strategic goods have been guaranteed for U.S. and free world defense machinery.

Political: The global treaty system has united many areas of the free world and co-ordinated their defense efforts to block Soviet expansion.

The results have been:

Economic: Finnish nickel mines, C
industrial plants and skilled worke
all these have come under the Soviets

Population, Industrial and Army Mar
ber of people under communism grew
millions in 1940 to 800 millions in 19

Strategic: on satellite soil, the Red
the heart of central Europe. China a
tories reduce effectiveness of U.S. glo
in Asia and weaken British Common
position in Southeast Asia and the P

Political: Growth of Soviet power st
of Soviet invincibility and encourages
ist political and guerilla groups, parti
developed areas.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

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Annex:
Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, part of Poland (NAZI-Soviet Pact), part of Finland, East Prussia, and part of Rumania (post-war.)

Force into satellite status:
Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and East Germany.

Support communist military campaigns in:
China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Tibet.

Make internal trouble in:
France and Italy, through national communist parties which have used the tools of propaganda, agitation, strikes, and blocking and delaying government decisions and acts.

...1 mines, German and Czech ...illed workers, Rumanian oil; ... the Soviets.

...l Army Manpower: the num... ...munism grew from nearly 212 ...illions in 1954.

...l, the Red Army now holds ...e. China and Vietnam vic... ...of U.S. global base system ...h Commonwealth and U.S. ...a and the Pacific life lines;

...t power strengthens myth ...encourages native commun... ...oups, particularly in under...

ART AND LAYOUT, BOB O'REILLY
Where definitive statistics unavailable, best present estimates are used.. For sources of facts given, ask local distributor, or write FPA, 421 Powell Street, San Francisco, California. Production by Design and Color Service, S.F.

...Western Hemisphere. It is too ... dangerous to hold back the Soviets elsewhere.

The U.S. would need to: build great sea and air defense systems; probably keep an air force which could strike back if Soviets attack; decide whether to defend - or make allies of - or ignore our hemisphere neighbors; decide clearly what to do if Europe or other areas are attacked; decide whether to have overseas bases as warnings to the Soviet Union; decide whether U.S. should try to keep its neighbors armed and/or out of economic depressions.

Note: The U.S. mi... place main hope ... a better living stand... strategy - or on bo...

Along with this choice, the facts below wil... are important to our security:

World Areas and What ...

STRATEGIC

Center of North Atlantic Treaty Organization, only U.S. alliance with forces ready to act; 3 1/2 million men under arms; 5800 aircraft, including 2500 jets plus 1000 British non-NATO jets; British Navy.

126 NATO air bases; 354 other usable air fields in war; U.S. Army bases; jet fuel pipe line from French ports to front line bases; west wall of rimland encirclement; rocket and guided missile launching sites. Soviets could use these against U.S. if Western Europe in communist sphere.

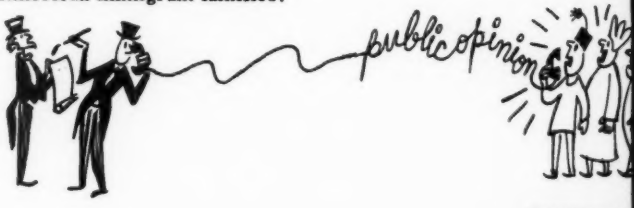
Middle East is Soviet neighbo... with poorly-knit defenses. Port... essential to South Atlantic se... lanes and movements of navies.

U.S. Army and Airforce bases i... Morocco, Libya, and Saudi Ara... bia part of rimland containmen... policy. Middle East is meeti... point of three continents a... jugular vein of British Com... monwealth life line; harbor f... cilities at Alexandria and Hai... essential to allies in World Wa...

POLITICAL

Capacity, and therefore will, to resist Soviets depends on U.S. support; owners of African colonies covering 10 1/2 million square miles, with population of 152 million; spiritual center of catholicism; close ties with many American immigrant families.

Mid-East contains spiritual ce... ter of Moslem world; many co... onial countries' great desire f... freedom means rapid politic... changes.



ECONOMIC

306,000,000 population, world's greatest concentration of craftsmen and scientific skills; over one-fourth world's steel and electric power output, one-half world's shipping tonnage, and control of strategic material resources in Africa and even Asia. Great inventiveness - atomic power, radar and penicillin.

282,000,000 population; maj... known source of world's strat... gic raw material reserves, a... one-half world's estimated c... resources. U.S. gets 9% of i... imports of strategic raw mate... ials from Africa alone. This i... cludes nearly 100% of its indu... trial diamonds and columbite.

ND GLOBAL DEFE

.S. - Soviet Production

U.S.A.

ee world production capa-
do Soviet world 3 to 1. In
steel production of nearly
tons was over 2 1/2 times
n Soviet production. Steel
of the U.S. and free world
ed whole Soviet bloc 3 1/2

conomy is expanding at
er year. Costs would be
by straining resources,
could be upped consider-
of U.S. industry produces
S. has concentrated on de-
tra plant and facilities to
s production of most mod-
s in times of need.

RUSSIA

The Russian economy is expanding at rate of 6% to 7% a year. Between now and 1960, pig iron production will expand 1 1/2 times, oil production will increase by 1/2, and coal production will double. If this pace is maintained Russian production in 1970 will equal U.S. 1950 production. This is short of original Soviet targets. But by using 1/2 of heavy industry to make arms, they exceed U.S. arms production. The food production drive has been short of goals, resulting in chronic food shortages. By ruthless priority system, USSR can extract the large military potential from its controlled economy. The Soviet economy is now functioning at its maximum capacity.

U.S. - US

COLD WAR

U.S. can strengthen and
system of rimland bases a
sive alliances, help build st
stable, determined allies.

Russia can win new allie
local communists in other co
seek to separate U.S. from h
and win new economic gains b
conquest or treaty, she r
foment small wars, probab
by her allies.

Field Marsh
Russia main
Russian bloc
forces.

Russia has
for attack on

In 30 days,
divisions; So
some 300 div
times as lar
air strength
fighters and n
fighters and
types of hea
served. Mar

fense Policy
U.S. Choose?

To keep the Soviets from taking more
er nations, in a hard, costly struggle.
line, and what countries would be im-
nd manpower important? How about
orld areas do you think it would be
o choices are outlined below. Which
? If the U.S. took choice number 1,
ke Europe and Asia, would the U.S.
rom then on? Or would U.S. chances
er Soviet Union?... Could the U.S.
ith arms, or by building a free and
ne facts to work with.

es in U.S. Policy

tone of our foreign policy; which would

Soviet gains are losses to us; to protect our-

Yo

Facts have no value

Should the U.S.A. -

I. Build a strong
II. Withdraw from t
at home and ne
III. Line up with oth
IV. Should the U.S.

V. Or _____

Only actions give me
Increasing, ho
Drafting enoug
Carrying on o
Setting a defer

How do you want the

What

FENSES ?

USSR: What Each Could Do

LD WAR

ngthen and expand
nd bases and defen-
elp build strong and
ned allies.

new allies, help
s in other countries,
U.S. from her allies
omic gains by trade,
eaty, she may also
ars, probably fought

HOT WAR

U.S. could use advance bases to deliver bombs and guided missiles to vulnerable targets in Soviet territory.

By quick military advance or 5th column, Russia could deprive U.S. of some raw material sources, lines of communication and bases in Southeast Asia, Middle East and Europe. Submarines could curtail shipping; air force could bomb U.S. and allies.

MONTGOMERY ON SOVIET STRENGTH

ield Marshal Montgomery Chief of NATO Ground Forces, reports: ussia maintains 175 divisions, 65 of which are tank or mechanized; ussian bloc has 6 million men under arms, 4 1/2 million in ground rces.

ussia has 22 divisions in East Germany, forming potential spearhead r attack on West, backed by 60 Soviet divisions in East Europe.

30 days, Soviet and satellite ground forces can be brought up to 400 visions; Soviets have enough tanks, mortars, anti-tank guns, to equip me 300 divisions; stockpile of field and anti-aircraft artillery several mes as large. Soviet aircraft number approximately 20,000. Soviet r strength has increased rapidly: in 1951, about one-fifth of Russia's ghters and none of her light bombers were jets - in 1954, almost all her ghters and well over two-thirds of her light bombers were jets. New pes of heavy and medium bombers and jet fighters are constantly obrved. Many Russian bases have been built in satellite areas.

Your Opinion Counts!

ve no value unless they are used to form wise opinions. What is your opinion?

e U.S.A. --

l a strong security system (of any kind)?
draw from the cold war, not try to hold back Soviet gains now, and build defense
me and near home?
up with other countries and try to hold back Soviet advances now?
ld the U.S. Build security on military defense?
Build security on trying to build a stable, prosperous world?
Build security by both these methods?

---

ons give meaning to opinions. What do you want done about:
reasing, holding the line, or cutting U.S. armed forces?
afting enough men for armed forces of the size you want?
rrying on or cutting out military aid? Other aid?
ting a defense budget - and taxes to pay for it?

ou want the U.S. to act for U.S. security?

Vhat the U.S. Now Spends on Defense

selves from a USSR which would grow so strong it would conquer us, we must plan our strategy to keep the USSR from taking any more of the world than we can prevent.

The U.S. would need to: build alliances against Soviet aggression, either with a few strong nations, or with as much of the non-Soviet world as could be helpful; give some military aid, and decide whether to give other aid important to check poverty or depression; decide how far to let the Soviets advance into the free world without war.

ght also decide whether to
n world progress toward
ard, on arms and military
th.

be useful in deciding whether these world areas

hey Mean For U.S. Strategy

CONSIDERATIONS

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U.S. has treaties with Japan, Korea, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, and Pakistan; atomic and guided missile proving grounds; Nationalist Chinese forces.

Rio Treaty of Mutual Defense involves 21 American Republics, including Canada.

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r II.

U.S. bases in Japan, Philippines, and Okinawa, and British port facilities at Hong Kong and Singapore; lifeline from Britain to Australia and the Pacific; Guam, Okinawa, and Midway are U.S. properties with naval and air bases; Far East offers approaches to West Coast of USA.

Latin America is so close as to be U.S.'s strategic backyard - must be friendly; Panama Canal; Canadian bases of offensive and defensive importance on strategic polar aircraft route over North Pole to Soviet Union.

, CONSIDERATIONS

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al

Since World War II, freedom gained by six states with 557,249,000 - almost 3 1/2 times U.S. population; a territory of 2,565,415 square miles - somewhat smaller than the U.S. Areas of world tension, new nationalism, communist guerilla action; area of maximum soviet political and diplomatic pressure combined with impact of Red victories in China and Vietnam; possibility of emergence of independent Asian bloc; Australia and New Zealand major U.S. allies and only Western countries in Pacific.

Limited communist influence although considerable anti-American feeling; Canada is rapidly becoming important world economic power.

CONSIDERATIONS

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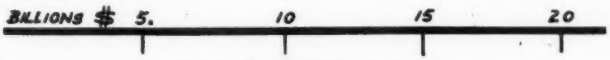
719,000,000 - world's largest population bloc; rapid industrialization; Burma and Thailand rice exporting countries essential to the food supply of free Asia; nearly entire world supply of natural rubber, 59% world's tin; U.S. imports 30% of all strategic raw materials from South and Southeast Asia.

U.S. high grade iron ore deposits are being used up. Canada and South America are new sources of high grade iron ore; South and Central America have 20% world's lead, copper and oil resources, and are source of 28% of U.S. strategic imports.

DEFENSE'S "CUT" FROM THE 1954 TAX DOLLAR

59¢ out of the tax dollar went for military needs.

OUT OF THAT 59¢ --



22¢ went for new equipment, like planes and tanks.

14 1/2¢ went for military payroll.

13 1/2¢ went to run defense training, upkeep fuel, etc.

9¢ went for research on new weapons; the reserve forces: stockpiling, etc.

THE "INTERNATIONAL"CUT FROM THE 1954 TAX DOLLAR

"International" in 1954 included Indo-China costs. It covered all money for defense aid abroad; for other aid; for American diplomacy - keeping in touch with the world; for the United Nations, other international agencies -- and so on -- many other things.

10¢ out of the tax dollar went for "international" costs.

6 1/2¢ of that 10¢ went for defense aid and other foreign aid - but mainly military.

'10¢ went to Europe. More than 3/4 of that was for arms. The rest to build economic strength so Europe will be able to pay for her own nse costs.

'10¢ went to the Far East and Pacific. About half of that was for s and training. About a third went for military supplies and to pay forces like Chiang Kai-Shek's on Formosa. Only one-sixth went for military aid.

'10¢ went to Africa, the Near East, and South Asia. More than half at was for arms and training. Almost a third was not military, but goods to help keep stable economies. Only one-twelfth was for nical cooperation" - "Point 4" program.

¢ went to Latin America - about half for military aid and half to l better economies.

#5

1. Background To Remember

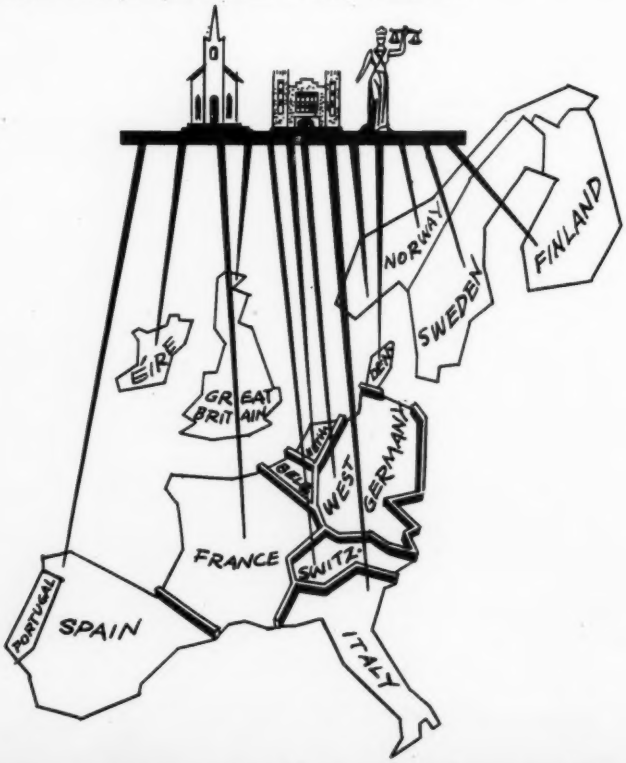
Europe is strangely always the first place we think of when someone says "abroad" - or "war" or "mother country." The U.S. has been in two wars which began in Europe. When Europe seemed about to collapse in the poverty left by war, we sent her goods worth billions of dollars. We are constantly warned not to think so much about Europe that we overlook Asia.

Why do we behave this way about Europe? Does Europe still mean as much to us today as in the past? Do we have some stake in Europe - and if so, what is it? Should American strategy for war and peace still center on Europe? Does defense begin on the Elbe?

These questions are not easy, and no American has the right to answer them for others - only for himself. What we can do is list some things to consider. What does Europe mean in war - as an ally, friend, neutral or enemy? How much does Europe count for in turning out the manufactured goods of peace? If Europe is the heart of Western Civilization - what does that mean to Americans?

A Thumbnail Sketch of Europe

Europe is older, not so prosperous, perhaps not so full of vitality as we are. Let us look at the facts about Europe. The whole of Europe (leaving out the Soviet Union) covers 3.7 million square miles, an area a little larger than U.S. and Alaska combined. It contains 550 million people - one-fourth of the human race on 8% of the world's land. Russia's iron curtain has divided Europe in half. Free Europe (including neutral Switzerland, Sweden and Eire) covers 1,471,993 square miles, an area less than one-half the size of the U.S.A. 305 million people live in free Europe - and about 250 million in Soviet satellites.



The countries of Western Europe are further divided by history and cul-

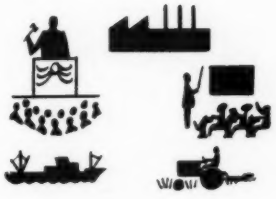
DO WE HAVE A S

2. Is Europe Important in U.S. Security?

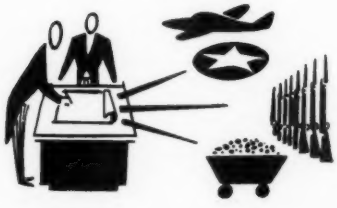
How important to the U.S. is Europe? How important is Europe to our security? If she has the world's biggest pool of skilled manpower, is that important to us and the non-Soviet world? Would it be important to the Soviets if they could get that industrial manpower? Do we need and want Western Europe to join us to hold back the Soviets? Is NATO important to our security - do the European countries' armies, bases, etc. add up to anything important? For several hundred years Europe was the "center of the world." Would it be a blow to the U.S. if the Soviets took Europe? ... What do our ties of religion, justice, freedom, ancestry - and our teamwork in science, industry and learning mean to us? Do they make Europe important today? These are questions to discuss and decide. Facts to help discussion follow below.

Europe's Productive Power

Economic: outside the U.S., Western Europe is world's greatest manufacturing center, and produces one-fourth of the world's steel and electric power. It is also the greatest source of craftsmen and creative scientists who may be essential in the world technological race. Europe "owns" Africa, and holds many keys to trade with Asia - major sources of strategic raw materials. The Free World now outproduces the Soviet Bloc 3 to 1, but if Europe were communized, Soviets would outproduce the Free World.



Some NATO Countries and Their Importance



Strategic: NATO represents the "shield of the West," the heart of the U.S. security system. It makes it possible to strike back at the Soviet Union immediately in case of attack, for the NATO system includes armies, B-47 offensive jet bombers, defensive interceptors and their bases, and the foundation for a radar warning system. The strategic force also includes European arms production, men and equipment. Britain has troops and bases all over the world and is an essential part of the free world security system.

NORWAY: population 3,343,000; seizure of Norway would outflank the whole of Central Europe; enemy use of Norway's vast coast line would threaten North Atlantic NATO communication lines with the U.S.; jet air force and 13 air fields; maximum military force of 250,000 to 260,000 men; allows no foreign troops on Norwegian soil.

DENMARK: population 4,303,000; military resources: a reserve force of up to 150,000 men; seven NATO air fields; eight air squadrons; however, a majority of Danes are opposed to foreign military or air forces stationed in Denmark - and in the Social Democratic party, major Danish political party, only 48% are positively behind NATO idea.

GREECE: population 7,604,000; poor country - lowest income per person of a NATO country ($160 per year); key position in Mediterranean; now in alliances with Yugoslavia and Turkey.

TURKEY: population 20,935,000; next door to Russia; NATO link to Middle East pact; alliance with Yugoslavia and Greece.

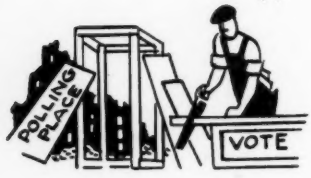
WEST GERMAN REPUBLIC: Population 48,478,000. Plans call for 12 German divisions in NATO, and other forces. Germany's very strong industries, such as steel, make her the strongest single country of Free West Europe. German membership in NATO was voted only in October, 1954, by other members -- promises to strengthen NATO's armed

ture. These divisions go back to the Middle Ages. The most painful and recent memory is Germany's unsuccessful bid for world domination twice within one generation. Western Europe is also divided by language, customs, and traditions. But certain common elements bind Western European countries together. They share a Christian civilization, a concept of the individual, democratic parliamentary forms of government, a fear of Russian aggressions westward, and memories of greatness.

Europe Since the War

Europe at the end of World War II:

Europe from Norway to Sicily, and from Normandy to the Russian Steppes, was embroiled in World War II. When finally liberated, Europe was worn out and physically destroyed. Both the economies and the democratic political system had to be rebuilt. These were the problems Europe faced:



Economic: First it was necessary to produce food; restore roads, railroads, and ports; to house people and then to rebuild and equip industry.

In addition to these physical problems, Western Europe had to adjust to new world economic conditions. The iron curtain stopped trade with Eastern Europe, before the war an important source of food and raw materials for Western Europe. Europe had also to sell many of its overseas holdings to finance the war. In the midst of all this the U.S. emerged as the only immediate source of food and materials for rehabilitation.

Political: In continental Western Europe, German quisling governments had to be replaced, the unused democratic and parliamentary institutions had to be brought back into use. In Italy and Germany the whole fabric of totalitarian society had to be replaced and democracy rebuilt. At the same time, it was essential to preserve economic stability, for economic chaos could destroy the fledgling democracies. Also Soviet-directed activity by communist parties tried to force the collapse of weak post-war democratic governments. This combined with the possibility of further Soviet expansion made Europe realize its dependence, in the immediate post-war period, on the U.S. for political as well as economic survival.

Time Table

Post-war political developments: The cold war came to be the main factor in the post-war politics of Europe. This is what happened: (1) Soviet bloc won Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Rumania; (2) British and U.S. helped stop the Russian-backed civil war in Greece; (3) Yugoslavia split with the Soviet Union and little by little began working with the West; (4) the Russian blockade of Berlin was the final sign of the Soviet wish to split Europe. The U.S. Berlin airlift showed what the West could do to resist Soviet tactics; (5) Russia tightened her economic and political rule over her satellite empire; (6) the U.S. and Western European powers set up NATO.

Despite Soviet efforts to prevent economic and political stability, Western Europe has recovered. In 1952, Western Europe's mining and manufacturing industries produced twice as much as the year after the war, and one-third more than in the pre-war year of 1937. Post-war political progress includes freer trade between Western European countries; a new organization to make one big efficient operation of coal and steel industries; and a movement for European political unification.

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ART AND LAYOUT, BOB O'REILLY
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and industrial power tremendously.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in 1954, stated in its joint report:

.. $15.3 billion have been provided for military assistance to Western Europe... (Combined with funds from other NATO countries this has)... led to the expansion of NATO's ground forces several fold and NATO's airforce by two and one-half times... The Department of Defense concludes that "loss of these allies would require vastly greater effort by the U.S. to go it alone."

General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe: "We are still not strong enough (in Europe) to resist an all-out act of Soviet aggression, but we have built up a shield which would be a deterrent to hasty, miscalculated, or so-called accidental war."

NETHERLANDS: population 10,377,000; standing army of 90,000 men and reserves of about 150,000; by 1955: aircraft carrier, 4 cruisers, 17 destroyers, 24 frigates, 11 submarines, 82 mine sweepers; 13 NATO airfields.

BELGIUM: population 8,725,000; military contributions to NATO: 3 active divisions, one of them armored, and 80% of this field force is now in existence; 75% of its promise to supply NATO with an airforce of 400 to 500 planes now fulfilled; 2 reserve infantry divisions.

FRANCE: population 42,500,000; heart of NATO defense system - land mass linking Atlantic seaports to central Europe; NATO support: 14 divisions, 28 squadrons of jet planes.

ITALY: population 47,140,000; poor, but in strategic position in Mediterranean and Adriatic seas; armed force: 235,000.

UNITED KINGDOM: population 50,545,000; Great Britain is the largest NATO contributor next to U.S.; center of Commonwealth of Nations colonies, governing one-fourth earth's surface and one-fifth of the world's population; Commonwealth nations are the source of U.S. strategic raw materials, including tin, chrome, diamonds and rubber; Great Britain is the controlling power in Mediterranean; strongest land power in Middle East outside of Turkey, and the only other "atomic power" besides U.S. and Russia. World-wide coverage of British interests and troops makes her a valuable member of NATO.

Europe -- Partner in A Way of Life

What Western civilization means to the U.S. is much harder to talk about than strategy or industrial production - but it may be even more important.

To suggest what it means, imagine how the world would seem to you if Europe went behind the communist curtain, and Americans could not travel there, and if news of London and Paris came only from the newspapers of the communist run "Peoples' Democracies" of England and France.

The U.S. and Europe share things which are more basic than treaties or world crises. U.S. citizens and Europeans have the same background - and those without this same background can never fully understand these common feelings and ideas about certain important things.

To Americans, justice and "fair play" mean what they mean in Europe, where these ideas were fought for or learned through hundreds of years. Worship means the same - Europe was the birthplace of Protestantism, and the Vatican stands in the city where Saint Peter preached. Our science and learning grew up slowly in Europe through thousands of years. Most Americans have some European ancestry. Democracy was born in Greece, and reborn and thought out in Europe ... and brought to America. Democracy and individual worth are ideas gotten from and shared with Europe. U.S. history before 1600 is the history of Europe.

Radar, penicillin, the key discoveries of the atom bomb - came from Europe, as other great discoveries come from the U.S. These things suggest what America's partnership with Europe in Western civilization has meant in the past.

STAKE IN EUROPE

3. What Is the Boxscore in Europe?

The U.S. has taken an active lead in Europe since the war. We have sent economic and arms aid, and built a partnership in defense. Has this been successful? Could the U.S. have hoped for more success? Have U.S. purposes been the right ones?... And U.S. methods? The Soviets blocked us out of Eastern Europe. They have had about the same openings in Western Europe as we have had. What do you think of their results in Eastern Europe?... And their results in Western Europe, where the U.S. and USSR have competed? In free world competition, which set of methods seems to work better? Why? Do you think one side or the other has clearly won the cold war for Europe? Do you think U.S. policies have worked out well, or failed? All in all, does U.S. cooperation there seem to succeed? A summing-up of the situation follows below.

U.S. Goals and Gains Since World War II

Following World War II, basic economic recovery for Europe depended on American machines and materials. No other country was able to provide the things needed. While Russia was integrating the economies of Eastern Europe into a single unit for the support of Soviet society, the U.S. was trying to help Western European countries to be economically independent of the United States. Later while the Soviet Union was integrating Eastern European armed forces into a single unit the U.S. was working towards Western European agreement on a security organization and a mutual defense program based on NATO.

What was hoped for: Between 1948 and 1951, the U.S. supplied $10.3 billions in machines, materials and technical aid for economic recovery. The greatest portion of this went to Europe. The main object was to solve Western Europe's basic economic problems of backwardness and inefficiency and to achieve some degree of Western European economic integration. If this could be done, Western Europe would then be independent of U.S. dollars but still a strong and stable ally. Western European prosperity would also diminish the internal communist threat.

What happened: Western European production is now well above pre-war levels and the individual countries are considerably more independent of U.S. dollars for economic survival than they were a few years ago. Europe still is not able to sell enough to the U.S. to earn all the dollars she would like, to buy U.S. goods. But many European businesses are healthy enough to compete with U.S. business in the export market and even underbid some American firms on American hydroelectric projects. Even with this increasing competition the U.S. still has a much bigger share of the world export market than she had before the war - an increase from one-fifth to one-fourth.

A really basic reorganization of European industry has not been achieved. Some European countries are attempting to coordinate coal and steel development, but few substantial strides have been made towards European economic integration. In France and Italy the poor economic conditions for industrial workers serve as a basis for continued communist party strength. However, the strength of the communists in unions and industry is far below its peak of five years ago.

Security Program

Since 1950 the U.S. has spent over $15 billion to help build the security systems of its allies and so the security system of the West. The bulk of this assistance has gone to U.S. NATO allies in Europe. When the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was signed in April of 1949, the aim of NATO was to "safeguard the freedom and stability of the North Atlantic area through collective action." All treaty members were to share the burden of defense. By 1952, although almost all NATO members had doubled their defense expenditure, the actual target levels had not been reached. Of 50 divisions expected in 1952, only about 25 were available. Targets had to be scaled down. The reasons were: (1) Not all Europeans were convinced that NATO was essential. In 1952, less than half the population of Italy, Germany and France was solidly be-

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4. What Should U.S. Policy Be on Europe?

Does the U.S. have an important stake in Europe? If so -- can we work out a policy that will give us what we want? Can we set up a policy that Europeans will go along with? Should we plan for or with Europe? Do you think the Europeans are reasonable or unreasonable in the things they want? Do you think that you might feel as Europeans do if you were a citizen of a small country facing the Red Army? In your judgement has Europe met us half-way, in our efforts to work together? Do you think a communist Western Europe would really be important to the USSR? What would it mean to the U.S.? What do you think are the keys to keeping Europe on our side, if that is important? What shall our policy be? Should the U.S. keep on with a policy of active partnership in Europe? Or should the U.S. withdraw?

National Interests - U.S. and European

To decide that the U.S. has a stake in Europe means that continent is important to this country's national self-interest. The present administration clearly believes this country needs the following things from Europe: a dependable alliance putting all of Western Europe shoulder to shoulder to prevent or slow down Soviet attacks -- keeping the Soviet away from the sea approaches to U.S. shores, and in case of war, stopping them on the soil of Europe, not America. This defense line-up depends on a strong, independent, willing and economically solid Europe. The U.S. has given billions of dollars in Marshall Plan economic help and Mutual Security military aid (see column III to help build that kind of Europe. Today the aid program is tapering off and is mainly military.

WHAT EUROPE HAS GIVEN?

Europe has agreed to form a defense line-up, working through NATO and other joint defense set-ups. Europeans feel they have taken two big risks to their own self-interest. First, they became NATO military allies of the U.S., which makes them very nearly enemies of the nearby USSR. Second, as part of the NATO agreement, European countries have put a high percentage of their budget into defense -- in spite of financial thin ice and low living standards. Has Europe given anything else? Consider the case of three of our NATO allies, key countries of any Western European plans.

Britain: In backing the U.S. to push for a Western European Union of armies -- like a European Army -- Britain took a difficult step in agreeing to tie up British Army divisions permanently on the continent of Europe itself. Britain has never believed this wise for herself, has refused to do it before, and has done it now only as teamwork with the U.S., to get France to join.

France: Invaded by Germany three times in 75 years, France has good reasons to fear German armies. But step by step France has moved toward agreeing to let Germany be re-armed, against her own wishes, and for the sake of teamwork with the U.S. and the other NATO allies.

Germany: Adenauer, as head of the West German government, took a big political risk by agreeing to give France the upper hand in the Saar Valley, which most Germans strongly believe to belong to them. By lining up with the U.S., West Germany has also made it less likely she can regain that half of her soil which the Soviets now control -- a serious historic step.

Under recent and present policy, the U.S. has considered Europe important to our self-interest, and has taken the lead to get Europe to follow policies believed to be good for both. Give and take has been the rule, for Europe, for the U.S. But Europeans say Western Europe will work with the U.S. as long as her nations can see that cooperation is also in their own self-interest. Every step taken must be reasonably good for every European or American partner involved -- even for present agreements to stand up.

Deciding For the Future

To decide on a future policy for Europe, three things should be considered: What the Europeans think, want, and might agree to; what we think the Russians and communist parties want and might do; and what the U.S. wants to do.

mind NATO. (2) Many Europeans felt that Western Europe was in no great danger of attack and that Western Europe could not afford the military and economic burden NATO imposed on them. Churchill argued before the British Parliament that unless more attention was diverted to the national economy, the defense drive would bankrupt England. (3) Europeans felt a long range security program coordinated with economic needs was more important than a quick build-up. Meetings between the U.S. and European allies brought compromises. The long-term build-up was agreed on, and defense programs since then have been thought more realistic.

THE COMMUNISTS IN WESTERN EUROPE

In 1947, the ruling cabinets of Italy and France had communist party members. In France, a communist was Vice-Premier, and another was Minister of Defense; Italy had 3 communist Ministers, Belgium 4, France 5. In France, the communist party was the largest though not a majority; in Italy the communists had talked the socialists into voting with them to make the biggest bloc of votes in the assembly. The communist parties were strong in France and Italy, and it was thought possible they might legally take over the governments. Communist parties in other European countries had hopes of growing stronger.

In 1954, there was not one communist in Western European cabinets. In France and Italy there was no possibility of a communist government now. In Italy it is not impossible that the communists might still win in the future - but they are badly out - numbered in parliament. Communist parties in other Western European countries were no longer important.

Soviet Goals and Gains

Russian annexations since 1939 have expanded the Soviet orbit by a territory equal to over 1 1/2 times the size of the U.S., involving a population of 567,861,000. Russia has gained the valuable Rumanian Ploesti oil fields, a highly westernized Czech industry, valuable Polish hard coal deposits. Russia has integrated all satellite resources into an economic, strategic and military machine directed from Moscow. Combined satellite manpower and raw materials are now estimated at one-fourth to one-third of the resources at the command of the Soviet Union.

Russia used war-time and post-war occupation of Eastern Europe to destroy opposition and set up "loyal" governments which would submit to Soviet domination and allow complete integration. The object of this integration is to create a single powerful bloc which the Soviet Union can mobilize in any direction to support its world objective.

Strategic: The Soviet strategic command now has complete control over satellite armed forces numbering, with Soviet forces, six million men. Satellite territories have been used to build bases close to Western Europe for Soviet troops and planes. Satellite industrial development and production is planned to meet Soviet needs. The work of all satellite scientists is tied into the Soviet race for new weapons.

Economic: Before World War II, Eastern Europe provided food and raw materials to Western Europe. Now the Eastern Europe economies are part of Soviet economic plans to create an economically self-sufficient bloc. For the past five years the Soviet Union has set its economy and those of satellites to the expansion of heavy industries, such as steel, coal and chemicals. This then would provide a base for further industrial expansion.

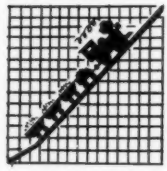
Despite limitations in skilled manpower and certain resources the results achieved show the communist power to ruthlessly allocate resources towards a specific goal. To make big gains in heavy industry, the Soviet bloc was forced to forget about increased food, housing and everything important to consumers. They are just now beginning to allow for some expansion in these areas.

Despite impressive results there are other facts. Production fell short of original targets. Some satellites showed dissatisfaction at the trade terms forced on them by the Soviets. Czechoslovak and East German strikes and riots did not shake Soviet control. However, Soviets and satellites have shown increased interest in trading with the world.

WHAT EUROPE WANTS

Europe wants to preserve her way of life -- her religions, customs, and the many things her peoples love as deeply as we love our way of life. She does not want it destroyed by war, communism or depression.

Europe wants peace. In case of war, Europe is the battleground on Russia's West. Europe was a battleground just ten years ago -- and some of the damage can never be forgotten or repaired. Many Europeans (and others) believe her civilization would not survive another war -- lost or won.



Europe wants a decent standard of living for her people -- which depends on trade. In spite of her big come-back, a large part of Europe's population now lives very badly - with inadequate food, very poor housing, not enough jobs, etc. Europe must have foreign markets for her goods. For these, she looks toward the U.S., toward more trade among her own neighbors, and toward the Soviet bloc. One place or another, markets must be opened, or these democracies will not prosper.

Europe wants a strong, independent voice in the world's councils. European leaders like Churchill and others are the product of hundreds of years of their countries' experience in world affairs. Until a few years ago, Europe was the continent of the world's leading nations; today she is less powerful than the U.S. and Russia, but feels her knowledge and experience are important. Europe wants her opinions respected. Europeans feel that in case of World War III they are more likely to be a battleground than the U.S. Therefore, European leaders do not want any one ally to act alone on a matter which they fear may bring about their destruction.

Europe feels her military ties have staked her existence on U.S. wisdom, and therefore wants to have an important voice in making decisions. Europeans are not always quite sure whether the U.S. will look out for Europe's good -- or, like Russia, just use her as a pawn in the struggle.

WHAT RUSSIA WANTS

Russia wants the tremendous prestige in the world that she would get by communizing Western Europe -- a resounding victory over the U.S. This would give much of the world the feeling that a communist world was really on its way.

Russia wants Western Europe's great production. These industries and skilled manpower would give the communists greater industrial production than the free world. Russia wants unarmed neighbors in Western Europe.

Russia wants areas Europe controls or outflanks. If the USSR took Western Europe, the Middle East would be badly outflanked (with Soviets on north, east, and west) and Europe's African colonies would be an easy prize.

According to most experts today, Russia wants to win Europe without risking war.

WHAT THE U.S. WANTS

The important question in a democracy is what the American people believe in and will support. What is your list of what, if anything, the U.S. wants from or in Western Europe today?

Your Opinion Counts

Facts have no value unless they are used to form wise opinions. What is your opinion?

1. Do we (the U.S.) have a stake in Europe?
2. Has our policy of building up and cooperating with Western European allies been successful?
3. Should the U.S. continue as an active partner with Western Europe - in defense and other fields?
4. Should the U.S. withdraw from European entanglements?
5. Should the U.S. continue as a partner and ally, but try to leave more of the initiative to Europe? Or should the U.S. insist on and take the leadership of Europe?
6. _____

1. Should the U.S. renew the Reciprocal Trade Act, to foster two-way trade?
2. Should the U.S. raise or lower tariffs on goods Western Europe sells here?
3. Should we renew Mutual Security aid? If so, should it be military aid only, or military and economic?

How do you want the U.S. to act on these and other issues which will actually spell out U.S. policy for Europe?

#1b

DO

1. Background To Remember

Asia's meaning for U.S. survival has been put this way by one great expert: if just India joined, "the Communist bloc would be in a position to sweep from Indo-China to Morocco, and would embrace three-fourths of the human race."

Free Asia could weigh down the world power scales in favor of the Soviets - ourselves - or just stay off the scales.

It is important for us to decide if we are willing to let the chances of history - or Soviet pressure - call the turn in Asia. If not, what can and should we do -- how do our needs measure up to the Asians' wishes and the facts of life in Asia?

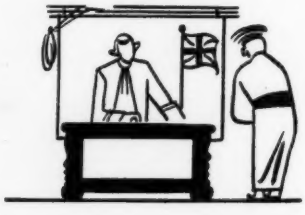
Since more than one billion Asians will have something to say on their future, we will have to look at them and their continent.

India and China, the two greatest Asian powers, have had great cities, universities, and wide foreign trade, since the time when Europeans were still savages. Wars and invasions brought ups and downs, but from 1000 B.C. and before, these great civilizations have lived on. Japan, Korea, Cambodia, Indonesia and others also reached great heights.

To understand Asia, we need to realize that it was this same Asia our ancestors admired for its very real knowledge and "wisdom of the East" in many fields. Asia was in fact civilized enough to look down on the traders Europe sent to her shores. It was guns -- not greater civilization -- which made it possible for Europeans to colonize Asia.

Asia's History

1600-1700:
Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English establish small trading stations in Asia.



1700-1800:
Indian government collapses; French and English clash for control of rich India and English win in 1757. In 1774, British East India Company (a private company chartered by Parliament) appoint a governor over India. British, Dutch, French and Spanish begin to colonize rest of Asia.

1800-1900:
India becomes crown colony under British government; British develop railway and irrigation system to produce and move Indian raw materials to British industry, with India buying finished products; Britain forces China and Commodore Perry forces Japan to open doors to trade. All Asia (except interior) now comes under Western influences or rule, and her people now mainly produce raw materials for Europe where they help bring new business prosperity. But -- a few Asians learn European ideas of liberty, prosperity, progress, - and begin to want these things, and to oppose European rule.
In 1857 the British

D WE HAVE A

2. Is Asia Important To the U.S. Economy?

Asia is a continent of more than one billion people. She has many key raw materials. But Asia is undeveloped, her people are poor, and she has little capital. Is Asia important to U.S. prosperity - the U.S. economy? To answer this, we will have to remember that whatever importance she has will mainly be in the future. This is because Asia has just become free, and is starting almost from scratch. Looking at what "Asia buys" from the U.S., below -- and at Asia's population and needs, do you think Asia is or will be an important market for the U.S.? Do the things we buy from Asia have meaning for the U.S. economy? What do you think about the future of our imports from Asia, and what they will count for?

Asia Buys U.S. Goods

IN 1952, THE U.S. EXPORTED OVER $ 2 BILLION WORTH OF GOODS TO FREE ASIA.

U.S. exports to Asia doubled in the 14 years ending in 1952 -- reaching 14% of our world sales. This big growth was made even with all Red China trade stopped.

Asia is a bigger market for U.S. goods because of the new, free Asian nations' drive to develop power and industry of their own. The U.S. is a great producer of the kinds of tools and machines they need. American firms have now begun to build refineries and other enterprises in Asia -- this accounts for part of the increase. The jobs created in the U.S. because of this trade include the factory workers who make goods, the men on the docks that load the ships and the sailors that sail them.

Asia Feeds U.S. Economy

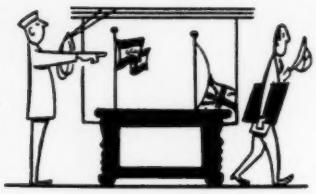
THE U.S. IMPORTED GOODS WORTH NEARLY $1.9 BILLION.

In 1952, one-fifth of U.S. imports came from non-communist Asia - a dramatic increase, for this is five times the 1938 amount. Now almost a third of our strategic materials come from these countries. The mines and forests of South Asia have: 96% of the world's rubber; 59% of the world's tin; 99% of the world's jute; and 15% of the world's manganese ore.

These U.S. purchases also boosted our dollar sales to Asia - and to allies like Britain, who owns Malaya's rubber. These dollar profits earned in Asia by Europeans are highly important to keep European economies on an even keel. Also, Asia still sends great raw material exports to feed the factories of the former empire states of Europe.

ASIA'S ECONOMIC FUTURE

Asia is just beginning to build and industrialize - is still behind the West's pace. Indian industry's output grew by nearly a fourth from 1948 to 1953, but in the free world as a whole, output increased about one-third.



1900:
More and more Asian leaders take up the cry of progress and freedom - and organize, but are jailed or silenced. Japanese occupation of Malaya, Dutch Indies, and Philippines weakens European prestige. Colonies develop better native leadership, and stronger independence movements. World War II cuts Europe's wealth and power. U.S. frees Philippines. Indonesia gains freedom by war with Dutch. India, Burma, and other colonies gain independence peacefully but with threat of action against ruling state. French seek to hold Indo-China, communists capture freedom movement and win Northern Vietnam. Communists win in China, drive out West.

Asia Today

So almost all of Asia became independent once again. But her free history had been interrupted by foreign conquest; her children had been taught foreign ways, and many traditions destroyed; the Europeans had changed local production to profit Europeans, not Asians -- with the yield of mines or fields sold to Europe for manufacture. (Asians had learned that prosperity comes with manufacture.) In Indonesia, the Dutch had kept the people without education. In India the British left behind a college and university system as well as trained Indian civil servants. Asia, now free, was first bitter, then suspicious of Western nations -- including America, whose people look, sound and think much like Europeans. Asia has not forgotten foreign rule - and to her, the colonialism she knows and hates still looms as large as communism, which is new.

The farmer is still the man of Asia - but, whereas in the past he accepted things as they were as his inevitable lot, in the last colonial years, he suddenly learned the idea of change and progress. Now suddenly he believes there can be enough food, and education and medical care for his children - and he will take any road which offers them.

This is the Asian explosion, and many people think it is bigger than the H-Bomb. When half the world's people suddenly change their ways and wants, history will change. Asia has goods, markets and a place in strategy. But it is the feeling that Asia may be the great center of tomorrow's history that holds world leaders' attention - in the USSR and the U.S., too.

The key to understanding Asia lies in its peoples and their ways. Like long generations of their ancestors, most Asians are farmers, living in villages. Like farmers in many other places they have liked things to "stay put," not to change. The government was far away, busy with taxes, war, kingly luxury, and with city-building - things which came and went. But the village was something that could be depended on. Within it, everyone had a job and a place, and everyone knew where he stood. A man's family was most important of all; in most Asian countries the land and house have belonged to the family - including brothers, uncles, and cousins. The farmer has been no rugged individualist; but a man who worked and lived for and in family and village.

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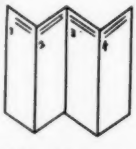

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ART AND LAYOUT, BOB O'REILLY
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If free A sia has dollars they will buy increasing amounts of machinery and other goods fr om the U. S. Though there are other sources (examples -- Africa offers tin and manganese, and synthetic rubber has broken Asia's near-monopoly) - Asia's strategic materials will remain very important. Also the dollars we spend in Asia that end up with U. S. allies in Europe are important to continued European stability.

A Thumbnail Sketch of Asia

ASIA IS UNDERDEVELOPED - MEANING MANY RESOURCES ARE UNTAPPED AND INDUSTRY IN INFANCY - AND STANDARD OF LIVING VERY LOW.

IN FREE ASIA -- 3/4 OF THE PEOPLE WORK ON FARMS.

THE ASIAN'S YEARLY INCOME AVERAGES $50.

THE AMERICAN EATS 80% MORE THAN THE ASIAN'S 1800 CALORIES PER DAY.

MALAYA: Hot and wet, covered with dense tropical forest - which has been cleared in North and West to make farmland.

INDO-CHINA: In do-China is rugged or mountainous except for Cambodia's plains in the South. The North has important rice crops.

INDONESIA: 3 000 m ountainous, rainy tropical islands, with pl ains along the ocean. Only 7% of the land can be farmed - but produces key crops.

PHILIPPINES: Mountainous tropical islands, but w ith much farmland in plains and valleys.

JAPAN: Rugged, mountainous country with little flat land. Every scrap of soil is farmed to produce top yields.

CHINA: Only nine per cent of China's land is usable for farming. Mostly mountainous, with great valleys; in Northeast, plains. Temperate climate.

INDIA: A fai rly level country, mainly, until it lifts up to the world's highest mountains all along it s Northern border. India is a hot country (but North has wet summer, cool winter.) About 40% of India's land can be farmed - high for Asia.

BURMA: A tropical, mountainous country, with a fertile valley down the middle which make s h er the world's greatest rice exporter.

THAILAND: Hot and wet - a great fertile plain, with high country and mountains West and South.

STAKE IN ASIA

3. Is Asia Important To U.S. Strategy?

Asia ranks as one of the great prizes in the Soviet-U.S. struggle. But why? What is her actual worth in planning U.S. strategy - and what is her worth to the USSR? For one thing, U.S. bases in Asia warn the Soviets of danger if they try aggression. What other meaning do those bases have for the Soviets? What damage would it do if the Soviets overran the U.S.'s Asian allies? The U.S. has morally agreed to defend them. How much does it matter if the U.S. does not live up to its treaties? Would the Soviets be much ahead if they could take Asia? Are Asia's own defenses strong? What do you think of the value of trying to deny key Asian raw materials to Soviet and Chinese war industry? If the Soviets could take the Southeast Asian mainland, what would be the effect on the Philippines, and on Indonesia? How about Australia and New Zealand? Is Asia important in the see-saw struggle between the communist and non-communist worlds?

Asia's Strategic Meaning

STRATEGIC RAW MATERIALS:

Asia is the source of 30% of all U.S. strategic raw material imports and even a greater proportion of those needed by U.S. allies in Western Europe. Approximately one-fourth of all materials in U.S. $6 billion strategic stockpiles came from Asia. These same raw materials go into both civilian and military production in U.S. and allied countries. Even if the U.S. could survive without Asian raw materials, for the Soviets to have them would give communism a strategic advantage.

A military axiom is: attempt to hold on to assets for your side - but make sure you deny them to the enemy.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

U.S. strategy has been to build a wall of strength around the Soviets, to stop the communists by making new advances hard and dangerous. Strategically the U.S. has been trying to hold the

STRATEGIC RAW MATERIALS:

Since Russia's economy is growing at a forced rate she needs many raw materials - especially for that one-half of her industry which produces war goods. China needs strategic materials to build the industries she plans. Russia can not supply China with all necessary materials, and so China will naturally try to get them from her Asian neighbors.

Any Russian or Chinese gain at the expense of the U.S. would represent a double loss to U.S. Example: Both Russia and U.S. get 10 tons of manganese. But Russia obtains the output of a country which had provided the U.S. with 2 of that 10 tons. Russia then has 12 tons to the U.S.'s 8 tons or 50% more than U.S. has.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

In the Soviet view any weakening of British and American power in Asia will increase Soviet security - and also Soviet freedom to advance safely. Different Soviet

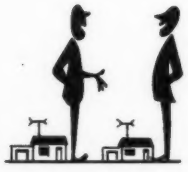
A ?

4. What Shall U.S. Policy Be on Asia?

It is one thing to decide that Asia is or is not important to the U.S. But can the U.S. develop a policy that will work in Asia? The Asians have needs and problems of their own. Could the U.S. overcome Asians' suspicions and make friends or partners of the key Asian nations? The Soviets and the Soviet Chinese are neighbors right in Asia. Can we compete with them on that continent? What advantages do they have? Do we have any advantages? Whose friendship would be best for Asia -- thinking only about her own welfare -- that of the U.S. or of the Soviets? Can you understand why Asians think the way they do? The U.S. has agreed to defend South Korea, Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Siam and Pakistan. The SEATO pact makes the last three of these countries our new partners against Soviet aggression. But the biggest free Asian powers have stayed out -- a problem. How can we get together with the rest of the Asians? Which policy would have the best chance? Which would be best for Asia and the U.S.?

First, let us look at Asia for clues.

The World Through Asian Eyes

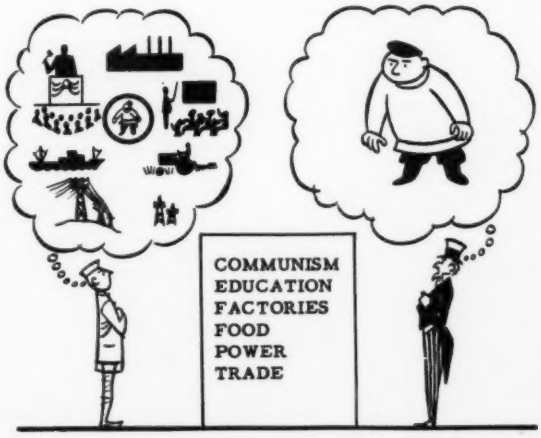


Among Americans
It is easy for one American to understand another. They have many things in common. The same language, similar education, religious belief, and common experiences.

Between Americans and Europeans
But it is a little harder for Americans and Europeans. Their beliefs and governments are much alike. But their languages, likes and dislikes and habits are different.

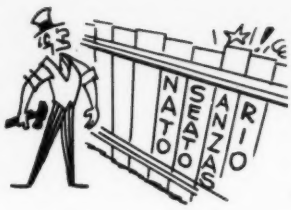
Between Americans and Asians
It is much harder still for Asians and Americans to understand each other. They have completely different customs, different religions and beliefs. Asia's peoples are even very different from each other.

The result is that the Asians and Americans may see different things, or the same things in different proportions, when they look at the same objects or problems. In looking at any part of the world, including Asia, the American sees communism as a threat and the major problem. The Asian leader is faced with communist neighbors and sometimes with growing communist parties in his own country, and sees communism as important. But as only one of the huge problems that face him in a poor, struggling, underfed new nation, Asian leaders believe communism can be beaten only if these other problems are solved. The Asians fear war because to them it spells the end of all hope of winning the race against hunger, and building a better country. They do not want a crusade against communism -- but an end to the cold war. Asians want their allies and friends to be genuinely concerned with peace. Also, they look over their shoulders at their powerful communist neighbors, and wonder whether the West is sincere and dependable enough to make good allies. They also look at the European as the ex-conqueror whose rule they have just ended, and wonder if his attitude can be genuinely



of foreign colonial rule were humiliating, and Asian leaders cannot forget it. Many of them were jailed for their nationalist activities. They believe foreign colonialism is as evil as communism -- and the U.S. sometimes seems to

line in Asia. In 1954, the U.S. signed the Manila Pact (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, or SEATO), which makes the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan into allies. -- Every Asian ally represents more force to oppose Soviet or Chinese advances. -- Every friendly, non-communist country kept outside Soviet camp is one possible ally for U.S., one ally Soviets do not have. -- U.S. bases, wherever they can be well placed are threats to any Soviet or Chinese advance, and threats to bases and cities on communist soil.



strategic goals could be reached by local communist victories by ballot, revolution or warfare; bad will or complete neutrality toward the West in Asian countries. U.S. air bases in Japan and Okinawa are close enough to bomb important communist centers. Soviets see this as defense problem. A new pact threatens possibility U.S. may get new and very dangerous bases on Asian mainland in Thailand and Pakistan. These endanger Soviet approach to Mid-East and the West flank of Vietnam. -- If communists could control India, Asia would be strategically and politically the Soviets'.

Asia's Own Choices and Strategy

Sometimes it is hard to remember that all the choices are not made by the U.S. Though this country can play its cards well or badly and thus help decide, Asians will in the end choose their own foreign policies. In making our own plans, we had better know how and why the Asians might act, and then plan strategy wisely. Unless we are going to leave Asia strictly alone, we must understand what is going on in Asian minds. Imagine yourself a citizen of India, for example - and look to see how Asia sees it. Can you understand why so many Asians see things that way? Is Asia right? Is the U.S. right in its way of seeing the situation? How do you think this might be worked out?

Here are three main choices each free Asian nation could make: 1) She could unite with the West as part of the U.S.-led bloc to resist Soviet aggression; 2) She could remain neutral and try to work together with Asian neighbors as an independent bloc; or 3) She might by choice, revolution - or by force - fall to the Soviet orbit.

AS WE SEE IT

Alliance with West would mean coordination of economic and military assets into a real Southeast Asian Treaty Organization for collective security; further integration of close ties between Asian economy and the U.S.; a gain in population, resources and strategic advantage for our side in the world power balance; the U.S. would need to provide economic and military assistance to Asia on a larger scale.

AS MUCH OF ASIA SEES IT

Alliance with West would mean becoming open enemy to the USSR, and China - the most powerful nation in Asia; putting more and more into arms while people are still underfed, underschooled, underpaid; aid and support from U.S. and its Asian allies (which are weak except for Japan) but mostly on U.S. terms, in uncertain amounts - with full war backing from across the Pacific not sure in case of attack.

Becoming a Neutral Bloc would mean a new question mark to consider in military plans; possibility but no guarantee that bloc might give priority to West in selling its strategic materials; the U.S. might need to keep on with economic support to prevent communists taking over because of economic breakdown; possible development of a fairly important third power bloc.

Becoming a Neutral Bloc would mean freedom to use Asian leadership to try be middle man and stop the frightening cold war; risk of Soviet attack or guerilla war somewhat greater, but maybe not very much; using all the little money she has to build desperately for better living for her people, hoping to outproduce and outflank communism at home.

Sovietization of Area would mean complete change in world power relationship in Soviet favor; isolation of Australia, New Zealand; if Soviets used force, U.S. treaties with countries in area could bring this country into war.

Sovietization of the Area would mean disaster, and is a matter of grave worry -- but not breathing down Asian necks as fiercely as poverty and other almost impossible problems.

friendly now -- if he really understands what Asia needs and wants. The Asian, and particularly the Asian leaders, have the pride and intense nationalism of the new state. The years support Europe's colonial powers, which still have colonies today. Some of these feelings are similar to the outlook of American colonists after the American Revolution.

Some Asian Needs and Wants

1. Asia wants to be able to feed, clothe, house, educate and keep healthy its fast growing population. This will be very hard -- and this is the main thing to remember. It is largely for this reason that Asia feels strongly on some things below.
3. Asia believes she must industrialize and improve her agriculture, produce much more of everything -- fast; Asia needs capital and machinery. Asia feels she must have peace.
4. Asia wants freedom from masters of any kind. Even foreign capital is wanted only if Asians are very sure they will control business in their own countries.
5. Asia wants equality, respect, understanding, and cooperation based on genuine friendship. These wants are deep, because she has just become free again. Asia wants to be listened to in world politics.

What the USSR and Red China Can Do in Asia

- promise easy answers to any problem and develop the myth that communists alone have a solution. Exploit and grow on poverty.
- cynically support, as in Korean War propaganda, "Asia for the Asians", and lend moral and financial support to any and all nationalist movements if only to embarrass the colonial or central governments.
- exploit the "revolutionary myth" that the communists are the only group genuinely interested in "the people", and only true nationalists, and only way to betterment and permanent change.
- point to Red China and Russia's common borders in Asia as reason for better understanding and closer relationship than is possible with the West.
- build and use the Asian picture of former colonial exploitation and general mistrust of all whites and particularly Europeans.

U.S. Policy Choices – Your Opinion Counts

Remembering all these things about Asia, which of the following courses should the U.S. pursue, and what do we need to do to back that policy up? Is there a better alternative than any of those below?

I. Assume the U.S. cannot compete successfully with the communists in Asia, or that Asia is not important to the U.S., which should stick to things closer to home -- in either case pull out of Asia and hope for the best.

II. Building defensive alliances is our method, developed in Europe. The U.S. should stay in Asia but concentrate on extending and strengthening the SEATO organization, getting more Asian countries to understand why and how we could stand together in SEATO to hold back communist power. Give limited attention to social, political, and economic matters and prevent any disastrous failures, but stick mainly to building defense. When a strong security system exists, then economic reform can start with U.S. aid.

III. Join with Asia in working out her future in her own way, work with her without insisting all Asian countries join with us in SEATO or on our side in the cold war. Try to learn to know Asia's problems well enough to see how they can be solved better than the communists can solve them -- out-compete the communists. Side with the Asians in world problems when possible, give Asia some aid (with emphasis on careful planning for its use -- not on a huge pile of dollars), carry out many small acts of friendship. Be ready to give defense aid when and as wanted or asked for, and hope Asia will judge the Soviets and ourselves correctly, be realistic.

IV. _____

ONLY ACTIONS CAN GIVE MEANING TO OPINIONS. WHAT DO YOU WANT THE U.S. TO DO IN ASIA?

DO WE

1. Background To Remember

Africa, still the Dark Continent to most Americans, is the treasure house of the future to those in industry who know its great mineral riches, like Congo uranium. The front page news columns in the US still carry only Mau Mau attacks in Kenya, or black African riots in South Africa--this is native nationalism, the demand to be masters in their own land. These two things point the problem: Africans want freedom and their historic continent back - our European allies want to stay - and both the US and Europe want to share in Africa's natural wealth. Mounting warfare against native Africans is good for no one. How shall we, the US, proceed?

For a few moments, let us look at Africa's past. This is the continent where Egypt's cities were a high civilization thousands of years before Christ. Here stands Ethiopia, never a colony except for Mussolini's short stay, Christian when most of Europe worshipped tribal Gods. Africans were the first to learn to work iron. Primitive tribes? Some "tribes" are nations of several millions; some have their own ancient and beautiful religion, worshipping one God; some have habits of justice and government which put the white man to shame. Most of us have thought of Africa as a place of childlike, black natives; there are natives who are white, brown, black--and many who are far from simple. Africa is above all a continent of many differences, and not without pride in her past and her ways.

Examine the Facts

Africa is the size of North America, with India, the British Isles and Greenland added in. In this great continent 200 million people live - over 50 million of them Bantu Negroes, whose home is East Africa, South of the equator. Negro people are mainly below the Sahara and Egypt, with Arabs and others to the North.

While Europeans comprise from only 1% to 20% of the population in any one area, they rule 41 countries in Africa. Europeans have brought in another group in the last hundred years--Indians, who were first imported on contract as cheap labor.

North of the Sahara, most Africans are Mohammedans; in the South, most native peoples practice their own ancient religions, though both Christianity and Mohammedanism have made many converts.

The continent has very little industry. Almost all Africa's large-scale modern farming is on European run plantations. Main crops are sugar cane, coffee, tea, rubber, tobacco and bananas. Africa is poor in coal and oil but does have plenty of uranium as a fuel for the future--and a wealth of rare and strategic minerals.

Africa's Story

Just a few years ago Asia and Africa were the world's great European empires of which Britain's was largest in size and population. France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, and Germany also had colonies in these areas. European empire-building began on a large scale after 1750; now, almost all Asian states have won back their independence. Today Africa is the last continent of big colonial empires.

1450-1700: Portuguese established coastal stations to trade in ivory, gold, spices, towards the end of the 15th century; and Dutch, British, and French traders followed and grew

HAVE A STAKE

2. Is Colonialism on the Way Out?

Colonialism means foreign rule over the people who live in a country. The British colonial rulers were never popular in the American colonies. Other peoples around the world feel the same way--human beings just do not like foreign rule. Colonialism has been pushed out of Asia and the Middle East just since World War II. Sometimes the European rulers have wisely given independence without a struggle--Britain has done this. Everywhere, peoples' demands for freedom have been much the same--even though their countries and ways of life were very different. Now this drive for independence and equal rights has begun in Africa. Once people feel strongly about freedom, it has proved hard to stop them from getting it. Could we stop nationalism -- the desire to be free - from defeating colonialism in Africa? The facts below will give you some picture of what is going on, and what the chances are. Look at "Africa's Pressure Areas." Which is the wiser policy for Britain -- that of Kenya or the Gold Coast? What do you think of South Africa's way of handling native Africans? Are European rulers being wise in Africa?

The World Picture: Colonialism Bows Out

It took up to 400 years for some of the colonial empires to develop. Within 9 years following World War II, eleven former colonies, protectorates, or mandated territories achieved their independence. Together they cover an area of nearly 3 1/2 million square miles, a territory a tenth bigger than the United States. The population of these newly independent states is over a half billion - about 3 1/2 times the population of the United States. Of this total the British colonies of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon comprised 470 million. Each year since the war's end an average of 63 million people, more than the whole population of England, have gained their freedom after centuries of colonial rule. Six of these newly independent countries are in Asia: India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ceylon, and the Philippines. Four are in the Middle East - Israel, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan - and Libya is in Africa. In the whole of South and Southeast Asia, almost every former colony has gained its independence.

Colonialism and Africa's Pressures For Independence

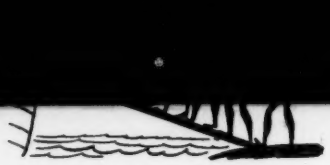
Nationalism is the major social and political force of Africa. For the native, it has two main aims: self rule and to get the white man out of Africa.

Many causes contributed to this tide of African nationalism. To gain his economic objective, the white colonizer broke up and destroyed much of the native way of life, exposed Africans to western civilization - its political aims and material benefits - and did not allow the African a significant share in either. Then during the second World War when Africa was an important strategic area the allies here and there tried to rally the Africans to their support by appealing to African nationalism, talking about liberty and freedom versus Nazism, and hinting or promising more freedom and a better standard of living after the war.

With shining exceptions, native hopes have been disappointed since the war's end--and this has been new fuel for rabid nationalism. Here is the picture in brief on three sets of colonies:

French Colonies:

In their colonies of North Africa, French aims to head off all moves toward self-government shattered Arab leaders' independence hopes and



centuries when slave trade reached its zenith.

1700-1800: Europeans began to explore and map the "Dark Continent;" Dutch colonized the Cape of Good Hope.

1800-1900: The British founded the Colony of Sierra Leone in 1808, but the big scramble for empire in Africa did not begin until mid-century. With this began the development of European-operated farming, European rule of African tribes, and the beginnings of the colonial empires.

1900 - : By 1912 the major European powers had divided up the continent of Africa and conquered its natives. Only Ethiopia and Liberia kept their freedom as nations. In 1922, Egypt became the first state to win back its independence.

The Problem of Africa Today

So it is that colonial rule is Africa's history of the last hundred years. What has been its effect?

First of all, the Africans have had their old ways of life broken up, without being able to live in modern Western ways. Colonial rulers have changed their laws, moved whole peoples, destroyed their pride and confidence. Missionaries have brought Christian ideas, destroying old religions and the life around them.

Above all, though, it has been the white man's way of earning that has most changed things for black Africans. For these peoples farmed, hunted or made things for their own use- very different from selling their labor to an employer. When Europeans started their plantations or mines, they needed workers; but the Africans neither needed nor wanted jobs. The colonial masters have therefore usually had to make native peoples work for them--as forced labor, to earn money to pay taxes, as service to the government, etc. Labor has been, and in some countries is today often done in stockaded work camps to insure discipline and carrying out of work contracts.

When the African has left his own village to work for the white man, he has left his old way of life behind--friends, land, religion, and all the rest. Now outside his own world, he begins to need and want the Western goods he sees. He meets men from other native peoples, and begins to be less a tribesman, more an African. He sees the good things of white life--and his eyes open on a new world. He wants a better way of life.

Here, the African faces the European colonial for his answer. In South Africa he is told the white man's life is not for him--as an inferior, he is to work and be silent. In Nigeria he is told to work and learn, and build a great and free country for himself. In the Belgian Congo, he is offered no democracy but a chance to learn and earn.

Some of his people, in most countries, have gotten Western education--and ideas of freedom, equality and of building their own prosperity.

Some of these men come back to work for their European rulers but some of them become revolutionary leaders, teaching their ideas to others, or organizing and working for independence--and their ideas spread fast. It is important for Americans to remember that these are mainly "revolutionaries" in the tradition of our own struggle for freedom from British rule--not in the tradition of Lenin and Stalin. Africa does not number many Marxists among her leaders--at least not yet. But this is a part of our problem - if native Africans see no hope from the West's democracies, then there is little doubt that this continent would be a fertile ground for Communist agitation.

Today the spotlight is turning to Darkest Africa's North of the Sahara; pressure for freedom is building up in Morocco and Algeria. South of the Sahara, the great pot is beginning to bubble; Gold Coast and Nigeria on the way to freedom within the British Commonwealth; bitterness and strife in Kenya and South Africa, and more to come; independent Liberia developing her republic; Belgium shrewdly keeping the people satisfied and reaping a royal harvest in the Congo; virtual slavery, here and there--a varied continent Africa, and the last great test of the white man's ability to work out the hard problems of colonialism. If he can do so, the West will stay in Africa--as partners, as rulers, or perhaps as friends. You will want to form your own opinion on what is at stake for the U. S.

produced riots, civil disorder and extreme anti-French nationalism. In "Black Africa," French give voting rights and representation in French parliament - not self-rule.

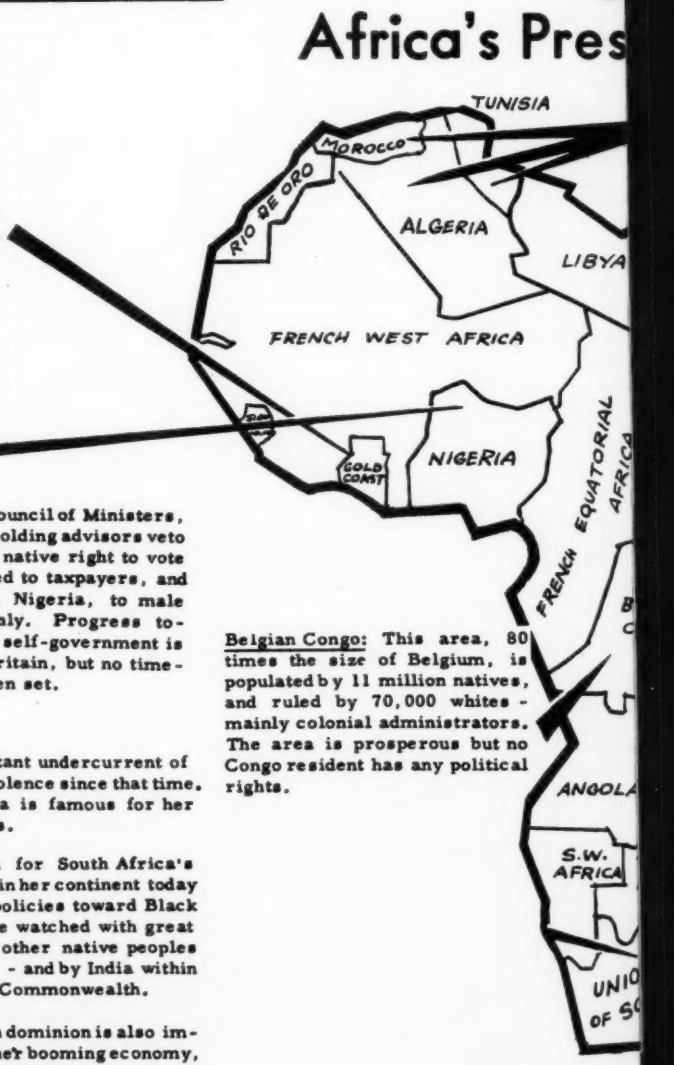
British Colonies:

After postwar development of nationalist riots, terrorist groups and native civil disorder, British took strong measures to restore order and revised policy to speed up eventual native self determination. In British Kenya, a state of emergency is still caused by Mau Mau murders of white and "cooperative" natives and many white settlers strongly oppose official government policy favoring a native share in self-rule. The Central African Federation area of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasa presents a picture of growing native political and economic strength but fear that the Federation will impose white supremacy. British West Africa has made the most rapid strides to self government--the Gold Coast will be free in 1956, and already has an African Cabinet; Nigeria has also been promised self-government.

Belgian Colonies:

The Belgian Congo is an area of prosperous, economic development and little native demand for self-government.

Gold Coast: An area slightly smaller than Utah with over four million Africans and practically no white settlers, this is the only African colony where all adults have the right to vote, and an African cabinet controls all policy except for defense and foreign policy. The Prime Minister: U.S.-trained Dr. Nkrumah. Complete control may be handed over in 1956, when the question of dominion status will be decided. Nkrumah has asked for continued European and American administrative and technical assistance to help insure successful Gold Coast development.



Nigeria: An area more than three times the size of Great Britain, with a population of 30 million Africans and 15,000 whites, a ratio of 1000 natives to 5 whites. Between 1945 and 1948, nearly 200 whites were killed by native terrorists. New constitution in 1954 set up an African Council of Ministers, with whites holding advisors veto rights. The native right to vote is now limited to taxpayers, and to Northern Nigeria, to male taxpayers only. Progress toward fuller self-government is planned by Britain, but no timetable has been set.

Belgian Congo: This area, 80 times the size of Belgium, is populated by 11 million natives, and ruled by 70,000 whites - mainly colonial administrators. The area is prosperous but no Congo resident has any political rights.

Union of South Africa: A British dominion since 1910, South Africa covers 472,494 square miles and has a population of nearly 13 million - of whom about one-fifth are whites.

Under Malan, the government in 1950 began its "apartheid" policy of strict separation of whites from non-whites, and taking away all civil and constitutional rights from Africans, mixed-bloods and Indians. Africans are now represented in Parliament by two appointed whites. Race riots broke out in Durban in 1945, and there has been a constant undercurrent of gathering violence since that time. South Africa is famous for her Negro slums.

One reason for South Africa's importance in her continent today is that her policies toward Black Africans are watched with great feeling by other native peoples everywhere - and by India within the British Commonwealth.

This British dominion is also important for her booming economy, as the only industrial country in Africa.

IN COLONIAL AF

3. Is Africa Important To the U.S.?

Some American leaders argue that Africa is greatly important to the United States. To decide, some questions are: What strategic raw materials does Africa give us for our peacetime and wartime industries? Do we really need those materials? If we have to think of a possible World War III launched by Russia, is Africa important in war? Would we need African bases, African supplies, and so on? Is Africa a better place for air bases than Europe, if there is a third World War? Why, or why not? If the Moroccans are in revolt against France, what will that mean for our bases in Morocco? Does the question of how well Europe works out her African colonial problems mean anything to the U.S.A.?

Is Your Picture of Africa

THIS? or THIS?

Africa's Strategic Value

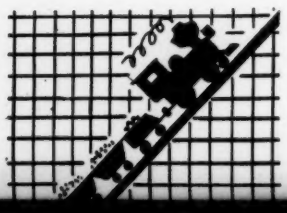
Strategic Raw Materials: US imports from Africa were multiplied 10 times between 1938 and 1952. The largest part of this was due to US re-armament and stockpiling efforts after the beginning of the Korean War.

The Belgian Congo and Rhodesia are among the world's largest copper producers, and mine large quantities of cobalt; one-fifth of the world's manganese is found in South Africa, the Gold Coast, and French Morocco; Rhodesia produces chromite; tin comes from the Belgian Congo, Nigeria and Uganda; 100% of the US supply of industrial diamonds comes from Africa, and over 80% of the US supply of uranium comes from the Belgian Congo which has the largest uranium fields we know of.

Treaty Bases: French North Africa is one of two places besides England where B-47 jet bombers are stationed. The range and carrying power of our biggest bombers represents the main power of the free world to strike back in case of attack. Location of these bases means North Africa is close enough to strike at the USSR or the Middle East area--but out of reach of Russian armies.

Geographic: In World War II the US suddenly discovered the closeness of Africa. Dakar and the ports of Western Africa came to be highly important, flanking the sea lanes between Europe and the Americas. British East Africa was a key base for military operations to the north; and the Suez Canal loomed up as the most direct way from Europe to the whole of Asia and the Pacific, cutting days from critical US and allied ship movements. It is essential to the Commonwealth life line today--but in time of war it becomes paramount to the whole West.

Africa's Economic Promise



New and expanding civilian industries use the same materials that go into military production. For example: good television sets need cobalt. Growing peacetime uses of atomic energy-including power plants-demand sizable quantities of uranium. Tools to make the tools involved in metal manufacturing demand certain materials which go into strategic production - industrial diamonds for cutting, manganese (titanium, chromite, etc.) for heat resistant and long-lasting steel. As science goes on to

AFRICA ?

4. What Should U.S. Policy Be on Africa?

Foreign policy is strategy and purpose. On every important area, the U.S. needs to have a clear foreign policy--with U.S. citizens behind it. With Africa's story in mind, you have probably decided whether you think that continent is important to the U.S. Europe wants to keep at least a share in African wealth--and native peoples want European rule ended. Shall we back the Africans--or back the Europeans? Or is there a way of working together with both sides, usefully and honestly? If we should take one of these choices of policy, why do you think it is better than the others? Last of all, can the U.S. wisely turn her back on Africa and forget about it? What do you think the results might be, if that became U.S. policy? Below, the four main choices on Africa are outlined for you to talk over.

Our Allies -- How They Run Their Colonies

Three major U.S. European allies - England, France and Belgium, have the largest colonial holdings in Africa. Their interest in the colonies stems from both prestige and economic reasons. For the mother country the colonies provide essential raw materials and a guaranteed outlet for manufactured goods. The colonies are also important as dollar earners. The U.S. is buying increasing amounts of Africa's raw materials. The dollars for these purchases go to Europe as the banker and business director of the colony, and allow Europe to spend the dollars on needed goods from the United States. This has long been a historical world trade pattern and to change it quickly could effect the stability of the U.S.'s major allies in Europe.

British Policy

Britain wants to build its major colonies into important economic assets. It has spent billions on their development to do this. Gold Coast and Nigeria have become important dollar earners. England is committed to eventual self-rule. In areas outside Nigeria and Gold Coast, white settlers who control local administration will resist this development.

French Policy

The French use some colonies as raw material suppliers and protected markets for French manufactured goods, and as a source of military manpower. French have not spent much recently to develop these areas. There have been riots and civil discontent. The French have resisted moves toward independence -- but seek to make French citizens of African colonials by allowing them to vote for or serve in France's own parliament - except for Morocco and Tunisia.

Belgian Policy

Economic gains are stressed, with many natives receiving training for technical and lower level administrative jobs. No Congo resident has any political rights. No significant nationalist movement for self-government in the Congo.

South African Policy

Policy on native share in government opposite to world trend. Large, for Africa, white population supports complete denial of rights or substantial improvement to natives.

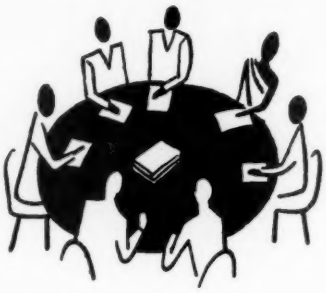
U.S. Policy Choices in Africa

SHORT RUN OR LONG RUN

tary use these same things will come into general civilian use. This, combined with the natural growth of the US, means that demand will go up.

Africa and the U.S. in World Politics

Use of African bases and our long-term supply of strategic raw materials depend on friendly political relations with our European allies. A second factor lies in Africa itself. Use of bases and mining of raw materials is possible only if the political stability of the key areas continues. Bases are not usable if surrounded by riots and political turmoil. Minerals cannot be gotten out of the mines if native labor refuses to do the work. A third factor is US leadership of the free world. Africa is a continent of colored peoples. Asia is also a continent of nonwhites. If the newly independent Asians feel the US is opposing independence for native Africans, they will tend to believe Soviet propaganda about the "Imperialist" US. At the same time, our European allies will resent any US intervention in Africa if US policy opposes their empires.



sure Areas

Tunisia and Morocco: With a mainly Arab population of almost 12 million, these countries are French "protectorates." France has opposed self-government with an iron hand, began to give ground in 1954 after major crisis. This area is important to mid-East because its people are Moslem Arabs -- to West, because of U.S.-built air bases.

Algeria: A big country with a rich North and a desert South, Algeria is almost a province of France itself, has the vote, sends members to the French parliament, has (in the North only) its own legislative assembly. Nationalist outbreaks probably fomented by Tunisians and Moroccans; Algeria has political rights, is more content.

Kenya: More than twice the size of Great Britain, with one-tenth its population. Out of every 1000 population, 970 are natives, 20 Asians, and only 10 whites, but the white Europeans have control. Mau Mau murders of white and natives, inspired because white settlers were thought to have taken the best native farm lands, reached peak in 1952 - 53. Strong repressive action was followed by a new constitution and Kenya's first inter-racial ruling council - one native African, two Asians, and three Europeans. Held out for the future is a plan to give the vote to all adults - of any color. Many white settlers strongly oppose this, wishing to give the natives less, and more slowly, with control in the hands of Kenya whites rather than the British colonial office.

Central African Federation: After long negotiation, this Federation has united Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, an area the size of South Africa. Out of every 1000 population, 960 natives, 30 whites, and 10 Asians. The Federation has a constitution but the three states still retain certain rights. The native share in government is modest, but there is the promise of more. A large white settlers' group in Southern Rhodesia oppose any additional native rights, as a threat to the white settler's supremacy. Natives have not been enthusiastic about the Federation, feeling that it will go slower on equality for Negroes than individual states would. Native strength is growing through one of Africa's very few successful trade union organizations - the African Miner's Union has doubled "copper belt" wages in five years, and has carried out a successful copper and railway strike.

The US can choose between:

1. Ignoring the whole African problem and hoping for the best. Not getting involved in a hopeless situation.

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2. Supporting colonialism "as is":

For: would simplify matters for present by leaving decision to major European allies who control colonial empire. Would still allow short run guarantee of most bases and raw material supplies.

Against: would possibly leave a legacy of native ill-will against the U.S. if and when colonies gain (through orderly evolution or revolution) their freedom. Natives would possibly appeal then to communists rather than U.S. for help.

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3. Backing the African independence movements:

For: would accept long term view that independence is going to come sooner or later, and be in keeping with traditional American attitude on colonies. Would gain support of new independent Asian states and serve to counter Soviet propaganda.

Against: would injure immediate relations with our European colonial allies who resent U.S. interference in something they think is none of our business.

4. A Middle Course - accept coming African independence as one fact, and our need for allies in Europe as another.

For: allows U.S. to gain good will by supporting independence - but the U.S. can also support a gradual time-table allowing Europe to protect her interests.

Against: European nations do not like U.S. attempts to influence them; Africa and Asia might view this kind of policy as insincere "stalling."

Your Opinion Counts

Facts have no value unless they are used to form wise opinions. What is your opinion?

Should the U.S.A. --

1. Leave the problem of Africa entirely alone;
2. Back the wishes, decisions and acts of our European allies in Africa;
3. Support African independence movements;
4. Support independence, but try to see that Europe's interests are taken care of, too.
5. _____

No opinion or policy has meaning unless things are done to carry it out. The U.S. government will have a policy on Africa, based on those clear opinions the American people hold. But administration and Congress will act on things like these -- and these actions will be the things that count:

U.S. votes on African petitions to U.N. over their grievances.
U.S. government statements on African problems.
Any U.S. aid to free African countries, like Nigeria.
Exchange of Persons programs which bring African students to study in U.S. universities.

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#8

DO W

1. Background To Remember

In September, 1954, Asian countries with one-half billion people -- one-quarter of the human race -- were unwilling to join the U.S. in the SEATO defense treaty, partly for other reasons, but mainly because they have not learned to understand the true motives and purposes of the U.S. Experts tell us that Asia can work side by side with us in world politics if we can get Asian peoples to understand our ways and convince them we are honestly and sincerely friendly. In Europe, too, opposition to the United States has mainly come from people who do not really know us and who do not trust the unknown. No person, people or nation which does not understand the U.S. is likely to be friendly. We are told by statesmen that friendship and understanding could change the course of history in Europe and Asia.

Do we need friends and allies? What are the pros and cons? And even more important, how does a nation "make friends and influence people?" A careful look at past and present will help us form sound judgements.

The U.S. and Our Foreign Relations

In 1776, the United States was a small seaboard country of trade, crafts and farming -- quite different from today's industrial giant. It was a country of brave men who shouted ringing words about freedom -- an exciting, revolutionary country. Europe's crowned heads and their ministers were uneasy about this revolution-made democracy -- except in France, Britain's enemy and Benjamin Franklin's friend. But to many people throughout the world, the beliefs that struggling America stood for sounded like a great hope in a world of oppression. Wherever word of the American revolution reached, there were new stirrings -- the new republic was an ideal.

From Europe came France's La Fayette and Baron de Kalb, from Prussia Baron Steuben, from Poland Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko. They came with other officers to join in the battle -- and to make an army out of green recruits. Openly or under cover, the government of France allied itself with the colonies. Ninety percent of the gunpowder used in the first two and a half years of the revolution came from Europe -- mostly France. The French treasury paid for supplies, fitted out ships in her own ports, and at last sent French regular troops which fought well. At Yorktown, where the final battle was fought, there were almost as many French soldiers as Americans -- and they fought magnificently. On the sea, too, French ships attacked British vessels and cut off Cornwallis from sea-borne supplies. A European ally and men's understanding and belief in new America played a part in the winning of independence.

FIRST YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

Though France was tremendously popular after the American Revolution, Presidents Washington and Adams found that being an

WE NEED PARTN

2. Allies - Shall We Pay the Cost of Partnership?

The U.S. has been the aggressive leader in building alliances -- in Europe, Asia and South America. We have other treaties and agreements too -- for U.S. bases on foreign soil, for trade, key raw material purchases like Congo uranium, etc. Every alliance, treaty or agreement is a "partnership", as the President has said; to form a partnership you strike a bargain, agreeing what each will give and take. A satellite can be made with a gun -- but not a partner; you do not buy a partner -- you invest in a future together. The present policy of the U.S. means we have many treaty partners, and want certain things from them -- the things listed below. This list is "what the U.S. wants" under present policy. Your choice of policy and U.S. wants might be quite different. Must we have what "partners" give us? Could we do without them? What do they want in exchange, and are their wants reasonable? Are these the basis for a fair or unfair bargain? What are the costs to the U.S.? Can we or can we not afford these costs? Should we seek future partnerships in Asia and the Mid-East? Should we pay the cost of partnerships?

What Do We and Our Partners Want?

The U.S.A.

The free world's peoples now outnumber the population of the USSR and her allies by 2 to 1. If the USSR won Europe and Asia, then communists would outnumber us 3 to 1 and outproduce us industrially. At the end of World War II Europe seemed actually on the verge of being communized, and Asia was a wide-open target. The U.S. wants these areas to be non-Soviet - friends to the U.S., not enemies.

Our Partners

BALANCE OF POWER

Foreign aid, amounting to billions, has been pumped into Europe, Asia and other areas to repair war damage and build prosperity; in places like Europe, it has restored production and standard of living, and held back local communist growth. What our partners want, mainly, is to be thought of as nations and peoples with pride, courage and wills of their own, and not just objects of charity or pawns in the game with the USSR.

DEFENSE AND WORLD POLITICS

U.S. strategists believe, since Russia took Eastern Europe, moved into Asia, and tried for Greece, Iran and Turkey, that the Soviets will march in wherever there is real weakness. If they take Europe, they get industry and skilled labor; if they take Asia, they get manpower and resources; if they take the Mid-East, they get oil and stand at the crossroads between Europe, Asia and Africa. If they take Latin American territory, they are in our backyard.

Therefore -- the U.S. wants Asian, European and Latin American nations to line up with us in strong alliances like NATO, and to fight if the Soviets advance. This is mainly for our own long-run safety -- but we think it is good for our partners too. We want quick action for defense, even though this may be hard and costly for our partners -- and us. The U.S.

Europe and Asia are the direct invasion battlefields, not the U.S. Free countries there do not want to be conquered by the Soviets or by anyone else. When they plan defense they want to think of their own needs first, and their own abilities to pay. Alliances with the U.S. make them enemies of their powerful communist neighbors -- a threat, especially if the U.S. should change its mind and end the alliance. Ties with the U.S. mean loss of independence -- for if the U.S. and Russia get into war, the ally is in the war too; with the U.S. as the real non-Soviet world leader, no small power can have more than one minor voice -- and this is very much like losing sovereignty. Therefore -- partners in Asia, Europe and elsewhere insist the U.S. consult them before it takes any important move. They object to some U.S. actions because these hurt their own interests -- even though the U.S.

powerful Britain. The new republic was not a strong military power, and it did not want war -- peace was needed to build America. So it was that Washington spoke out against permanent alliances, and in 1798, Congress ended the treaty of alliance with France. "Peace is our passion", said Jefferson, and a Kentuckian put the position: "No army, no navy, and worst of all an empty treasury."

THE U.S. EXPANDS

By 1843, President Tyler was sending the Cushing Mission to China to make a treaty giving the U.S. favored trading rights -- so far was the young nation reaching. In 1853 and 1854 Commodore Perry with his gunboats, sailed into Tokyo harbor, and came out with a treaty opening Japanese ports to our trade. In 1867 the U.S. bought Alaska from Russia, and in 1898 the U.S. annexed Hawaii. The Spanish-American War ended with the U.S. taking over not only Puerto Rico, but the Philippines which was deep in Asian waters. Taking advantage of a revolt within Colombia, the U.S. gained the Panama Canal zone in 1903. In 1899, the U.S. pushed through the Open Door policy, to gain equal rights for the U.S. and other foreign powers trading in China. In 1900, when the Chinese "Boxers" attacked whites in China, the US. sent 2500 soldiers to Asia.

MONROE DOCTRINE - FIRST GREAT CHANGE

By 1820, the U.S. was larger and stronger, and had more "army, navy and treasury." When the Czar of Russia and most other European kings banded together, Americans feared these monarchists would try to stamp out the young republics of South America -- and perhaps threaten the United States of America. Since Britain, too, wanted other European powers kept out of Latin America, she backed the United States in 1823 when President Monroe stated his famous doctrine: "The American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The U.S., only a few years old, now felt strong enough for the great foreign commitment to defend North and South America. The U.S. had entangled herself in world politics beyond her borders on a large scale.

THE U.S. - TWENTIETH CENTURY POWER

By 1900, the U.S. had trade, possessions and interests many thousands of miles beyond her shores. When World War I broke out, the U.S. stayed out until 1917, and then entered as an "associate" -- not as a full ally. Though the League of Nations was largely President Wilson's idea, the U.S. did not join; yet this country did take part in the Versailles Treaty which re-divided Europe, in the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, and many post-war conferences and agreements. After World War I, the US. was now for the first time one of the world's greatest powers. In World War II, the U.S. first gave help to Britain and other Western countries, and was finally forced into the war by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Now formally allied with European, Latin American, Asian and African powers, the U.S. at the war's end took the lead in creating an organization, the United Nations, to keep the allies together to keep peace. There were now two great powers -- Russia and the U.S. American history since World War II has been the story of U.S. world leadership, as this country has created alliances like NATO in Europe and SEATO in Asia.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

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position in important international dealings at the U.N. in major conferences, etc. The U.S. wants its partners to be patient with our domestic and political struggles. The U.S. wants its allies to be politically stable, and not to delay things with internal wrangles.

may be impatient. They will demand changes in some policies. They will watch the U.S. constantly for signs of unreliability. When they are in trouble because of their war efforts, they may expect U.S. help. They will expect the U.S. to side with them in their disagreements with other countries.

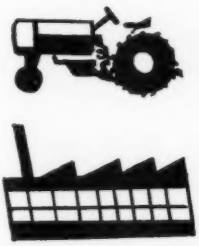
BASES

The U.S. has built and operates air bases in 13 different countries from England to Japan. These bases are a key part of U.S. strength to stop Soviet advances, or to strike back at the USSR if necessary. The U.S. is also a partner in NATO bases in Europe. The U.S. wants these bases defended against attack or sabotage, and wants to be sure they will not be closed out in case of war danger.

To grant a base to a foreign power is a great step, and it brings danger of attack or bombing with it. Allies like Britain believe we must build defense together, and so give bases as a part of partnership. Japan needs economic aid -- she gets aid and gives bases, in her partnership with the U.S. Spain gave the U.S. bases and got big economic aid and arms for her troops.

PRODUCTION AND TRADE

The non-Soviet world now outproduces the communists three to one. The U.S. wants the countries which own major industry kept out of Soviet hands. The U.S. wants its allies to produce arms for defense. We want them to become more efficient and prosperous so as to stop communism at home. We want them to refuse to sell goods useful in war to communist nations. The U.S. wants to protect its own weaker industries from foreign imports; about two million U.S. jobs depend on foreign trade.



Our partners are willing to produce arms, but fear they may damage their future peacetime prosperity by hasty over-attention to war industry. Some feel that their economic sacrifices should be backed by U.S. aid when essential. Our partners want to be free to make their own decisions on long-term economic needs, and they believe long-run prosperity depends on some trade with communist countries. They want the U.S. to practice what it preaches on freer trade, and open up some of our markets to competition.

RAW MATERIALS

85% of the U.S. stockpile of strategic materials has come from overseas. In the past 35% came from Asia, 9% from Africa, 28% from Latin America. Not only war products and atomic plants, but products like television sets and autos depend on imported raw materials. We want our partners to sell these to us at fair prices, and to refuse them to the communist powers.

Our partners often have not developed these raw material sources because they can not afford to make big investments, or long-term demand is not large enough. Therefore, the U.S. has had to make loans to nearly 20 different countries to build better mines, etc. The U.S. has also made long-term agreements to buy, as with Congo uranium. Our partners do not want to expand production, even with U.S. loans, and then find themselves without customers.

SUMMING UP

Summing up, the U.S. wants allies who will: buttress our defense -- stand up and fight wherever the Soviets attack: back up our strategy - work with the U.S. in out-maneuvering the Soviets politically; back up our production -- supply us what we need for our industry, in key raw materials. This is a crude list of essentials. What should be added? Are there other things as important?

_____

_____

_____

Summing up, partners have minds, needs and feelings of their own which they will always insist on as a basis for partnership. This means the US. loses its freedom to have things its own way entirely on defense, trade, tariffs, world prices, strategy for war and peace; for the U.S. must meet the terms agreed on in any partnership it decides to form. Aid programs have been one price for halting the spread of communism. In the future, the U.S. will have to decide about Asia and the Mid-East, both economically weak and threatened by communism.

...ERS AND FRIEND...

Is the U.S. Winning Friends?

3.

More than half the world's people are not among our partners. Are we making friends of these people -- or the opposite? Friends are those who understand our character well enough to see us roughly as we are, and trust us -- though never blindly. Certainly those who do not understand and trust us cannot be counted on as friends, and may be wooed by the Soviet camp. The Russians put tremendous money and effort in to painting an evil picture of a cruel and grasping, rich and imperialistic, hypocritical and warlike U.S. They have made some people believe this -- can they succeed with others? Does Russian propaganda success depend partly on how we act? What are our strong points, in terms of making friends? What are our weak points? What can we do about it? Above all, what do we have to keep in mind for the future?

The Changing Image of the U.S.A.

The young American Republic was a symbol of freedom and hope to the world, not only in 1776 but far into the next century. Two early comments on the U.S. were by the Frenchman De Tocqueville and the Englishman Bryce. Both agreed that equality was the main theme of American life, and that citizens believed deeply in freedom and their free institutions. To struggling peoples on all continents, the U.S. was a great and hopeful example for their own future.

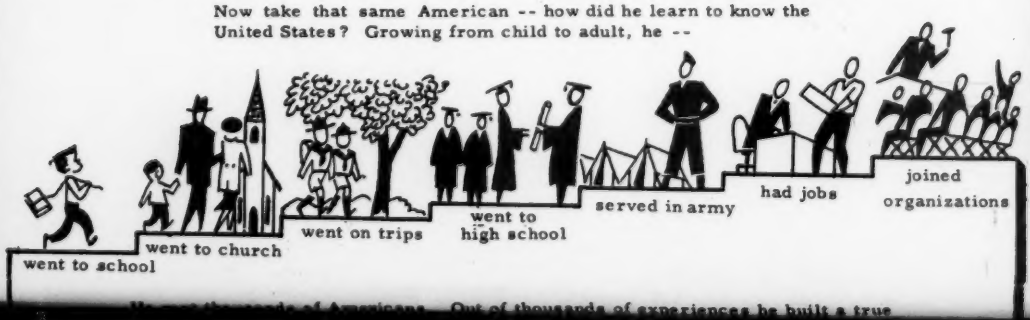
It became known in the world, too, that the U.S. was against foreign colonial rule -- having been a colony itself. When the U.S. helped work out Indonesia's independence from Holland after World War II, colonial peoples saw this as a new sign of good will.

But the U.S. is no longer a small cluster of colonies; this country has become history's greatest industrial giant, a "super-power." America cannot help being seen now as a great military state, with navies, strategic bombers, and atom and hydrogen bombs; and as unbelievably rich, with a high living standard and trade which spans the world. In any capital of any country, no great decision on foreign policy can be taken without taking the U.S. into account.

Pictures in Peoples' Minds

To begin with, if trust and friendliness toward us depend on seeing us as we are, what kind of picture do foreigners see? Let us turn the question around. The average American has never been to Africa. He may have only three main things to go by: a book he has read, a movie he has seen, and what he heard from a GI friend stationed in North Africa during the war. Built of only three pieces, his picture of Africa may be one of a weirdly-painted witch doctor, a bazaar in Arab North Africa, and naked natives carrying great bundles. This of course is not what Africa is like -- Africa is a complex continent.

Now take that same American -- how did he learn to know the United States? Growing from child to adult, he --



...Out of thousands of experiences he built a true

IDS ?

4. Can the U.S. Make Friends and Influence Peoples?

What does the U.S. already have on its side in making for friendly world opinion? Many things this country has done have helped create a good picture on which understanding and trust can be built. Can these same things be done again? Do we need to understand other peoples' viewpoints before we can expect to know how to deal with them? How should the U.S. act, and what should it do to bring about a friendly world?

Our Best Foot Forward

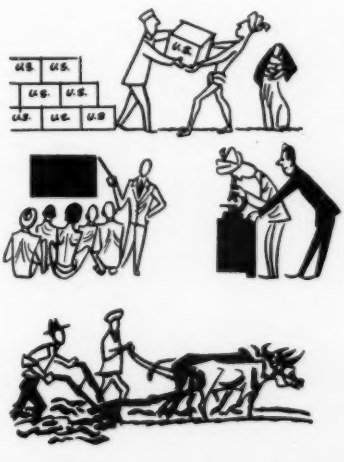
A few things have made us many friends in the world -- actions which spoke louder than words to explain the real America. Here are some of these:

"Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor ..."
Like these words from the Statue of Liberty, the U.S. welcomed immigrants from all parts of Europe for more than a century, and gave them American opportunities. People in many countries, including some behind the Iron Curtain, have relatives in the U.S.

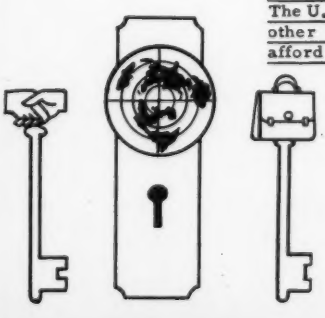
Private Generosity
When famine, floods or other disasters have hit, Americans, rich and poor, have given freely through their churches and organizations. This has been warmly appreciated - and not forgotten.

Education for the World
About 30,000 foreigners come to study in U.S. universities and factories each year, many of them on American scholarships. These people take back useful knowledge. Americans also gave colleges or funds for education in China, the Mid-East, and many other places.

U.S. Aid Programs
Lend-lease help to Europe in the darkest hours of World War II and relief shipments to relieve the misery war left behind - nearly every one understood that these were sincere gifts from a friendly nation. American sincerity, not the money spent, made us friends abroad.



What Are the Keys to Friendship and Understanding?



The USSR has made some bad mistakes by misjudging opinion in other countries. The U.S. runs a serious risk of the same kind, unless we study the reasons why other countries think the way they do - differently from the U.S. We cannot afford to act in the dark.

With Europe: The biggest single truth about Europe is that she is the battleground if Russia strikes to the Westward. Of the two, both the U.S. and Europe could be bombed -- but only Europe is a path for the Soviet armies. No American who did not see Europe's cities at the war's end can fully believe what World War II did: children tubercular, youth demoralized, families broken by deaths, homes destroyed, jobs gone. If World War III makes Europe a battleground again, many countries expect total ruin even if the war is won. Europe sees World War III as a death sentence

With Asia: Getting along with Asia means remembering these key differences: First -- Asia is threatened by hunger. She must step up farm and industry output tremendously to feed millions of new mouths. Asia must defeat disease and illiteracy. Only in the

picture of the United States. What we need to remember is that foreigners know the U.S. the same way we know Africa. Every impression counts - a movie, a tourist from the U.S. passing through their town, a newspaper story about a race riot, or what they hear as rumor.

A Good Look at Ourselves

Like a trainer getting a boxer ready for a big match, let us first look at the weaknesses we need to watch for -- and our contest with the Soviets is serious, though we may never fight it out. Americans are above all realists; let us be realists about our problems. With a little humor, here are some over-simple pictures the rest of the world sometimes thinks it sees.

"Uncle Sam Flexes His Muscle"

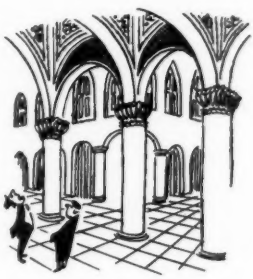
The U.S. is tremendously strong. Sometimes even our closest partners grow a little afraid as they look at both the two giants -- the U.S. and the Soviets. Their fear is simply that this great power may some time be used hastily. When American politicians and public figures make strong statements about U.S. might, or say that we are too strong to pay any attention to other nations -- that we should "tell them off" -- this helps sell the Soviet picture of the U.S. as a bully.

"We Ought to Drop the Bomb"

Almost every one in Europe and Asia feels that another war would be a total disaster; in fact, European civilization might well be destroyed. American popularity is replaced by bitter fear when someone in the U.S. announces that "we ought to drop the bomb." The rest of the non-Soviet world is, almost to the last man, opposed to any move to start a war. Russian propaganda uses this to "prove" we are "warmongers."

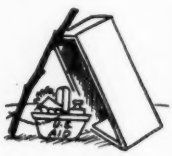
"Give Me Good Plumbing Every Time"

Other countries are sensitive toward the rich U.S.; they are much poorer, but proud of their own traditions and culture. They fear that the U.S. does not appreciate their great achievements -- their cathedrals, their arts, their great creations of beauty. One typical propaganda attack on the American is to suggest that he cares more for plumbing than for culture.



"Where Can I Change a Thousand Dollar Bill?"

Years ago European immigrants used to return to their old homelands to show how rich America had made them. The new-rich American tourist also cuts quite a figure. The inconsiderate or discourteous U.S. traveler is a serious handicap to this country's reputation.



"Baskets for the Needy"

Nothing is harder for a proud person or a proud people than taking aid. If the receiver feels aid is given as charity to the needy by a pompous rich neighbor, he feels little gratitude. If the receiver does not already understand the U.S. and feel friendly, he may suspect that the U.S. has some hidden motive -- and the Russians lose no chance to plant this suspicion.

World Opinion on the U.S.

There are many different opinions of the U.S. in various countries -- depending mostly on their experience with us. These are some of the words other peoples often use to describe us:

hard-working	materialistic
intelligent	immature and hasty
progressive	too changeable
practical	uncultured

There is both a minus and a plus side to these opinions -- and much to build on. The U.S. still has a great fund of good will in other countries. Let us go on to examine the positive side.

Acting as Equals

Respect for traditions

Considering Public Opinion

hunger of the pilgrims' first winter at Plymouth Colony has America been threatened by problems like this. No one is sure Asia can win her battle to feed her people in years ahead. Therefore Asia needs peace -- and she cannot possibly afford war. Like Europe, she cannot take risks, and will be roused by any U.S. acts that might seem to tend toward war. This is why countries like India favor compromise. Second -- Asia has just freed herself after long foreign rule, a bitter experience which she hated and cannot forget. As a result, Asia believes foreign colonial rule is as evil as communism.

With the Middle East: Like Asia, the Middle East is struggling against poverty, disease and ignorance. Arab leaders are proud, suspicious and temperamental after years of European domination. Any country, including the U.S., that wants their friendship will have to be tactful and patient, and prove it is a friend. Otherwise there will be no friendship.

With Africa: Like Asia, independence and equal treatment will be the key to the friendship of Africa's native peoples. This is hard, because the U.S. also wants to get along with Africa's European rulers.

With Latin America: Countries "South of the Border" feel overshadowed by the giant U.S. They will be most disturbed by any U.S. interference in their affairs, or any U.S. act which suggests we think them unimportant or not as good as ourselves.

Using the Keys

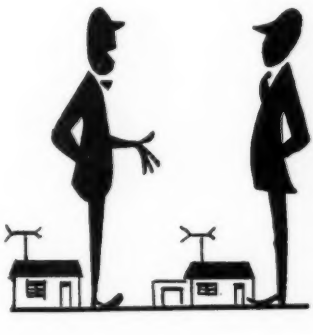
All these are keys to working with other countries in ways which will make friends and create understanding of the U.S. The acid test is how we put them to work and what results we get as we deal with other countries from day to day and year to year. Here are some of the main ways in which our government works with nations abroad:

Information Activities and Cultural Relations: The U.S. uses radio, publications, information offices abroad, and other channels to give the world a picture of ourselves. We also send educators, music, books, films, and other things to show what American culture is like. To the U.S. we bring students and leaders in various fields, to learn about our industry, science, our way of life, etc.

Political relations: The Secretary of State, State Department and our foreign (diplomatic) service work with almost every country in the world, to gain support for our strategy in foreign policy and to protect U.S. interests. The United Nations, where world problems are laid on the table and discussed, is a center for transacting the business of nations. Every main issue at the U.N. calls for this country to support or oppose the interests and wishes of other countries.

Economic relations: Trade and tariff policies, world price policies, U.S. support of more planning and trade among our allies, U.S. purchases of raw materials, pressure on our friends to limit their trade with the iron curtain countries, etc. -- these make up our economic relations.

Military relations: Our military alliances bring U.S. strategic planners, U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force into close co-work with many other nations.



Not only the government, but U.S. business firms and investors, U.S. churches and their missionary programs, American tourists, Hollywood's film makers, and others, partly decide world opinions and feelings about the U.S.

Deciding For the Future

What is your opinion? Do you think the U.S. --

Should	Should Not	
___	___	1. Decide we need allies and friendly world opinion?
___	___	2. Take account of our allies' needs, wishes, public opinion?
___	___	3. Try to build policies good for the U.S. -- that world public opinion will go along with, and that will make us friends?
___	___	4. Try to get citizens and business to think of world opinion?
		Support actions to give meaning to your opinions:
___	___	1. Favor or oppose things like these below:
___	___	-- a strong U.S. Information Agency to build understanding?
___	___	-- some aid to allies, when and as important?
___	___	-- some aid to needy areas, when and as important?
___	___	-- bringing foreign students to the U.S. (Exchange Program)?
___	___	2. Pay the tax costs of these things?